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ARTICLE I.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.*

By CHARLES F. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.

I. THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK.

THE determination of the period in which the Book of Job was composed, was, for a long time, attended with the same difficulties which are experienced in establishing the age of various monuments of Indian (Asiatic) antiquity; more than one thousand years intervene between the earliest and the latest eras to which critics have respectively assigned the origin of the book. Writers who have lived since the completion of the Talmud, have differed so widely, and have often so strangely combined the materials which they possessed, that in the whole period extending from the era of Abraham to the Exile (Babylonish Captivity,) there is scarcely a single century which some author has not claimed as the period of the composition of the book. The learned men of Germany, in particular, have been found, in a comparatively brief space of time, to fluctuate between two opposite extremes, in

* DAS BUCH HIOB: Verdeutschet und erläutert von Lic. Konstantin Schlottman. (*The Book of Job: Translated into German and explained, &c.*) This article constitutes a portion of Chap. V. of the Introduction prefixed to the work by the author; its title is: *On the time of the composition of the book, the locality and circumstances in which the book originated, and its later history.* For this "later history," the analysis of the several dialogues, as furnished in Chap. II. of the Introduction, has been substituted.—Tr.

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establishing the date in question. One author alleged, near the close of the last century, that all who were competent to form an opinion in such a case, agreed that the Book of Job was the oldest of all those which constitute the Bible. On the other hand, it was quite as usual, during the earlier decennaries of the present century, to adopt the views of Gesenius and de Wette, and to assign the origin of the book to the Chaldaic period (the Exile;) subsequently, the weighty opinion of Ewald and a corresponding modification of de Wette's views so far prevailed, that it became customary to connect the age in which the author of the book lived, with the seventh century before Christ.

We will first examine the theory of those who assign the composition to the latest possible period. No one has advanced more extreme views in this respect than Vatke, who fixed on the fifth century, B. C.; but, as Hirzel justly observes, "without any reason founded on the language or the historical basis of the book, and simply on account of its internal relationship with the Proverbs, which latter, without any discrimination, and with a mere reference to Hartmann, he assigns to that century." The opinion is more generally entertained even at the present time, and is supported by many plausible arguments, that the Book of Job belongs to the period of the Exile, or to the one which immediately succeeded the latter. This opinion partly coincided with the view prevalent at the beginning of this century, and which invested the poem with a national character; it was strangely supposed that the vivid descriptions which the poem furnishes of the misery of mankind could be explained only by referring them to some national calamity which pressed with a heavy weight on the poet's soul. The advocates of this theory, further, appealed to the Aramaisms of the book; but these, as, for instance the Song of Deborah and the second Psalm (2: 12 *bar*) clearly show, are peculiar to the most ancient poetic style, and they occur in connection with numerous Arabisms in Job, which Jerome already noticed (*Praef. in Dan.*) and for which we cannot possibly account, if that late century be adopted. How little reason there is to appeal to the supposed Persian origin of the conception of Satan is apparent from the remarks made in the foregoing chapter [of the author's Introduction: On the great antiquity of certain conceptions predominating in the Book of Job.] A writer must indeed entertain a very strong faith in his own favorite theory, as Ewald rightly intimates, who can believe

it possible that a work so perfect and complete, both in reference to the contents and the language, could have originated in the period of the deepest decline of Hebrew poetry. Finally, the circumstance that Jeremiah exhibits in various passages distinct evidences of the influence of the Book of Job, must prevent any unprejudiced mind from adopting the theory in question. The converse proposition—that Jeremiah was the original author, where these indications of acquaintanceship occur—cannot be entertained, as it contradicts the well known literary character of the prophet, and is irreconcilable with the character of the passages themselves.* We have accordingly here found a boundary in the later ages, below which we cannot descend.

We proceed to consider the theory of those who assign the 'highest antiquity to the book; they usually confounded, at the same time, the age of the *poet* and that of his *hero*. The dogmatic prejudices by which the theory was supported, have been already noticed in the first Chapter [of the *Introd.* on the poetry, tradition and historical matter of the Book of Job.] David Michaelis believed that this theory corresponded to that principle of utility which, as we showed, he had also, in other respects, adopted in his views of the book; he accordingly endeavored to establish it in his unimpassioned and argumentative style. As Herder, too, had supported it with his polished pen, this theory acquired that popularity, to which we have alluded above. Its friends identified the poet, in different directions, with a descendant of Nahor, or with an Idumean, or with a Hebrew living in Arabia Deserta during the hoary ages of antiquity. They alleged, in support of their view, the circumstance that the laws of Moses are no where mentioned in the book, maintained that the features of the patriarchal age were distinctly visible in the whole extent of the poem, and held that the Arabisms could be best explained by assuming that, in that remote age, the dialectic peculiarities of a later time, had not yet been grouped in distinct classes. Many arguments have been advanced against these views which scarcely seem to be tenable. Hævernicks, for instance, (*Einl.* III. S. 339) refers to "various branches of human knowledge, Astronomy, Natural Science, History," which are indicated in the book, but could not have so existed in that early age; but all the statements to

* Comp. Jer. 20: 13, 14 with Job 3; Jer. 20: 7, 8 with Job 12: 4; 19: 7; Jer. 49: 19 with Job 9: 19; Lament. 2: 16 with Job 16: 9, 10; 27: 33, etc. F. Kueper, *Jer. S. S.* interpr. pag. 164 ss.

which he alludes, are, in reality views of nature and of facts so simple and obvious, that they can by no means be justly represented as foreign to the patriarchal age. For the men of that age doubtless distinguished the most striking constellations, observed the habits of animals, and surveyed the lot of races and tribes that were oppressed and that perished, with a memory as retentive as that of later generations. Even the origin of mining, the description of which has seemed to some to be inconsistent with so high an antiquity, probably belongs to a period far earlier than the age of Abraham and the patriarchs; for the hieroglyphics of the Egyptian copper mines of Petraea, which Lepsius* deciphered, partly belong to the monarchs of the fourth dynasty, that is, between 4,000 and 5,000 B. C. It is true that no mine-pits have yet been found in those hitherto unexplored mountainous regions; still their actual existence is highly probable, inasmuch as the shafts of the Theban arched sepulchres, which descend many hundred feet below the surface, belong, according to the inscriptions, to the same remote antiquity; it is scarcely to be conceived that after the construction of shafts was once understood, the search for the precious metals should have been discontinued. We can as little discover a necessary allusion to the Sinaitic legislation either in the mention of special duties which coincide with the demands of the Law, or in Job's declaration that he had not "gone back from the commandment of God's lips" (23: 12,) as such duties always remained the same, and the divine will had been revealed to the patriarchs. But Hævernick is perfectly right when he maintains that Job's deep and heart-felt consciousness of his sinfulness and guilt, can be explained only by his experimental knowledge of the Law. Indeed it is almost as inconceivable that a poem exhibiting such artistic skill, should have been composed in an age anterior to King David, as it is that the era of the Exile should have given birth to it. The Song of triumph in Exodus and the Song of Deborah unquestionably demonstrate that the poetry of the Hebrews had risen to a high rank at a very early period. Still, these were merely individual national songs; the Book of Job, on the other hand, is an extended poem, the several parts of which, by their skilful combination, form a complete whole, and the ability with which it adopts appropriate language in expressing the most varied thoughts and emotions, conclusively proves that both lyric and also gnomic poetry must

* Journey from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai, p. 9, 10.

have, previously to its composition, existed in a very fully developed form. We accordingly find a boundary, in reference to the earlier ages, in the era of David and Solomon, above which we cannot ascend, in determining the age of the book.

We are therefore restricted in our investigations to a period of four centuries, or from B. C. 1,000 to B. C. 600; it exhibits two distant epochs of a successful cultivation of Hebrew poetry—of Lyric and Gnostic poetry at the beginning, of Prophetic poetry at the close. If we inquire with which of these two epochs the book of Job, viewed in reference to its internal character, possesses the highest degree of affinity, no one can long hesitate to decide in favor of the former. The poetic form of the book is altogether lyrico-gnostic. The structure of the verses conforms precisely, as we have shown above, [in a previous chapter,] to that which prevails in the book of Proverbs; and the thoughts, too, which occur in it, resemble those expressed in the Psalms and Proverbs far more than those of the prophetic writings. The theocratic conceptions which proceed from the Mosaic records, predominate in the latter, whereas in the poetry of David and Solomon, while their influence is plainly perceived, they nevertheless do not so generally give their own impress to every expression of devout thought and religious feeling. It is undoubtedly true, that Hebrew gnostic poetry did not expire with Solomon, and that the echo of the poetry of David's Psalms may be heard during the era of the Exile, and even later. Still, such instances are isolated, and even they owe their existence indirectly to the life and power of an earlier age. The book of Job, on the contrary, is so far from depending on previous productions, that it possesses all the youthful vigor of an original and independent work. It may be added, that the antique spirit which pervades the whole poem may be far more readily explained, if we assign it to a period which, although separated by many an internal and external struggle from the simplicity of the patriarchal age, was still not far remote from it; the explanation becomes difficult if we assume that the poem originated at a later time when the wealth of theocratic conceptions was widely diffused among the people, insomuch that the Jewish mountain-country, itself distinguished by a certain air of antiquity and a striking peculiarity of character, produced the shepherd Amos—a man, who, moved by the Holy Ghost, secured the recognition of those theocratic conceptions in the

capital of the Northern Kingdom, and was one of the first who committed them to writing. According to a modern standard, it would be an evidence of distinguished poetic talents, if a writer should, under such circumstances, retire altogether from the influence of the spirit of his own age, and intentionally reproduce an image of the past, or attempt to recall those simple habits, thoughts and sentiments which had long since disappeared from the world; antiquity would, according to every analogy, have regarded such a work, not as the result of *art* but of *artifice*. The case is very different if we assign the poem to the age of Solomon, when not only the recollections, but also the higher influences of the past materially influenced the modes of thought and feeling prevailing in that generation. And we are, further, directed to fix on an age preceding the full development of the prophetic literature, by external evidence, which is not indeed as forcible and direct as that by which the existence of the book of Job in the days of Jeremiah is demonstrated, but which is, nevertheless, of considerable weight. Thus the nineteenth chapter of Isaiah contains a verse which strikingly resembles one in the fourth discourse of Job, and both portions of the Scripture approximate very perceptibly in another passage.* Hitzig here considers the author of the book of Job to be the imitator; but the latter expresses the sentiments with far more originality and independence than the prophet, who seems in these cases to make allusions to the language of the former. A similar remark may be made on certain points of resemblance which are perceptible in several passages of Amos and Job respectively.† But, if we are thus directed to look beyond the days of Amos, we will scarcely be inclined to arrest our glance when we reach the ninth and tenth centuries B. C. which are so barren of poetry, and thus we arrive at the threshold of the age of Solomon. And that, finally, the poem belongs to this age, is indicated by its language which generally resembles that of the Psalms in many respects, and, in an especial manner, that of the Proverbs—a circumstance to which Calmet has the merit of having first called attention (*Dissertations sur l'écriture sainte* II. p. 168.) Quite a number of words may be found in the Proverbs and in Job, which do

* Comp. Isaiah 19: 5 with Job 14: 11; Isaiah 19: 13, 14 with Job 12: 24, 25.

† Comp. Amos 4: 13 with Job 9: 8; Amos 5: 8 with Job 9: 9 and 38: 31; Amos 9: 6 with Job 12: 15.

not occur elsewhere; of these Calmet has already made a tolerably complete classification, although he thence erroneously inferred that Solomon himself was the author of both works. It is true that an explanation of the circumstances may be attempted by assuming that the author of Job had so fully imbibed the spirit of the ancient models of lyric and gnomie poetry, that he appropriated also to himself the particularities of their diction; this supposition loses all force when we survey the book in its lofty proportions and solitary grandeur; it is not a mere mechanical combination of certain scattered lyric and didactic elements, but is an independent and original artistic creation of the poet himself. We are thus constrained to explain these coincidences of language by assuming that the authors were contemporaneous, and resorted to the same common stock of words. While these peculiarities of language appear to furnish satisfactory evidence that the book was composed during the most flourishing period of Hebrew lyric and gnomie poetry, the considerations which we have previously stated, seem, by their additional weight, to render that evidence conclusive.

On the other hand, if we examine the arguments which have been adduced for assigning the composition of the book to the close of the extended period already specified (B. C. 1,000—B. C. 600,) we can find none which possess any weight. Ewald, who extols the artistic skill and finished character of the composition, nevertheless refers to a certain feebleness both in the language and in the descriptions, indicative of a later age than that of Solomon; such a consideration is too indefinite, and proceeds too exclusively from subjective views, to acquire the force of an argument. Those passages, again, which, as it is said, betray the later, calamitous period of the Jewish state, assume this character only when an arbitrary mode of interpretation is applied. For when Job exclaims: "The earth is given into the hand of the wicked," (9: 24,) we surely need not resort to that later age in order to explain his words; even David could have expressed himself in similar terms, when he was in distress, and mourned over the triumph of haughty foes. Ewald himself admits that the twenty-fourth chapter refers to the wretchedness and misery of the earliest inhabitants of the country, occasioned by the invasion of a hostile tribe; we cannot perceive that such events should be lamented with less reason in the tenth century B. C., than in the seventh.

The most plausible argument is derived from the twelfth chapter, which describes nations, priests and kings that are overwhelmed and led away captive; the advocates of the later origin of the book allege that these statements must refer, if not to the Jewish, at least to the cognate Samaritan people. But we know that such a catastrophe frequently occurred in the earliest ages, and instances may be found even if we recede to the extreme limits of authentic history. Nations and tribes met in hostile array on the banks of the Indus as on those of the Jordan more than a thousand years before the Christian era; hence a poet, a contemporary of Solomon, was as fully enabled to describe such scenes as a contemporary of Nahum or of Habakkuk. Thus all the arguments advanced in favor of a late date of the book, fall to the ground.

We now proceed to the investigation of the *locality* of the composition of the book. Stickel (Job. p. 269) erroneously supposes that it could have been composed neither in Jerusalem nor in the Northern Kingdom, for the reason that all the writings proceeding from those points, present certain characteristic features which indicate the particular locality in which they were prepared. We cannot clearly understand what these characteristic features are, or ought to be. But Stickel has presented many interesting considerations, and exhibited much ingenuity, when he advocates the theory that South Judea was the home of the author. The latter had certainly become acquainted, by personal observation, with the leading features of Northern Arabia and the peculiarities of an Arabic nomadic life, without depending on the narratives of others. It was foreign to the modes of thought and feeling of the ancients, to place themselves in the external relations and general situation of others. The author could nowhere have found in his own days so true a representation of the simplicity of patriarchal life as in the Southern mountainous region. A vigorous race, possessed of great mental endowments, dwelt there. Stickel, with good reason, refers to the "wise woman" (2 Sam. ch. 14) whose instrumentality Joab employed, and who was a native of Tekoah, as well as, especially, to Amos, the bold shepherd, who ventured to enter the corrupt city of the Northern King, an unlearned man, and yet a powerful orator. It is indeed remarkable, as Stickel shows, that even the peculiarities of the dialect of that prophet find corresponding analogies in the book of Job; thus gutturals are softened,

and sibilants are exchanged according to the same law which otherwise exists between the Hebrew and the Arabic;* even if, as Stickel correctly remarks, these circumstances may seem to be unimportant in themselves, they cease to be merely accidental, when they are viewed in connection with the other facts. It cannot hence be regarded as altogether improbable that, as the book of Job was first made known to the people of the mountainous region in which it originated, Amos should have been induced to refer to it, when he described the divine glory which the works of nature reveal. The home of Job himself, had, besides, not been far remote from that Southern region, and the tradition which referred to him, unquestionably there found the widest circulation. The busy scenes afforded by an extensive traffic will naturally suggest to an observant mind many happy images of other more important scenes occurring in the experience of men. In that region the usual routes of the caravans of Tema and Sheba intersected each other; both names occur in the beautiful description of the deceitful brooks (ch. 6: 19; Stickel, p. 271.) The circumstance that this boundary land was visited by so many strangers, also furnishes a happy explanation of the fact, that when Job, in his refutation of his friends, adduces the lessons of experience, he appeals to the testimony of well informed travellers. Such a southern region, finally, furnished any inhabitant with great facilities, particularly in the age of Solomon, for attaching himself to a caravan and visiting Egypt, which by no means lay at an inconvenient distance; there are various indications in the book, that this course was adopted by the author.

We are constrained, on this point, to espouse the opinion of Hirzel in opposition to Stickel, even if the inference which the former deduces from the author's intimate acquaintance with Egypt—that he was one of the Jews who had been taken to that country in the reign of Pharaoh-Necho—is erroneous. Stickel objects indeed that other portions also of the Old Testament indicate the same intimate acquaintance with the natural features and the customs of Egypt, without thereby authorizing us to conclude that the writers had obtained such knowledge, not from the communications of others, but from personal observation, and, fur-

* בוסס for כוסס; 5: 11; משרף for משרף; 6: 10; מועץ for מועץ; 6: 8; יצחק for יצחק; 7: 16. Comp. Stickel, p. 276.

ther, that this remark is especially applicable to the well known prophecy of Isaiah respecting Egypt. These facts, however, although they are unquestionable, do not impair the force of the inference respecting the book of Job, which has just been stated. For when a prophet who surveys divine and human transactions with an attentive and searching eye, has occasion to speak of Egypt, it is quite reasonable and consistent that, in his description, he should appropriate to himself those points which had especially interested him in the recitals of others. The allusions in Job to the customs of Egypt and, in general, to life in Egypt, are of a very different character; as the subject which is there discussed, by no means necessarily suggests them, they assume the nature of spontaneous reminiscences. Without mentioning doubtful cases, we may here specify the references to the Papyrus or paper plant, the judicial proceedings conducted in writing, and the representations of the dead, who seem to be the guardians of the sepulchre. It is, however, impossible, (without adducing additional illustrations) that the author should have described the Crocodile and the Hippopotamus not only with the highest poetic vigor, but have accurately specified the most minute particulars, if he had possessed no opportunity of personally observing the habits of these animals. We shall show in the [following] commentary, that the alleged inaccuracies which Stickel thinks that he has discovered in these descriptions, proceed from a misunderstanding of the subject, and that we have before us, not, as older interpreters supposed, fancy sketches of fabulous animals, not, as Havernick emphatically expresses himself "a poetic idealization," but a copy of nature, faithful and true in all its details.

The results which we have now obtained seem to be sufficiently ample and well established to justify our attempt to indicate those peculiar circumstances in the personal history of the author, to which the composition itself may be traced. We do not, of course, design to conform to the course adopted by those writers, who endeavor to explain some of the most momentous events, nay, even divine procedures, by referring to an alleged organic, but in reality, a mechanical necessity; they deduce the moving cause from the movement, the creative power from the creature; but the laws which they set forth, are practically ignored by the higher exhibitions of power revealed in the intellectual world, by all that truly constitutes ge-

nus, and by all that essentially forms the "miraculous men of history," as Luther happily terms them. Hence such a mode of interpretation is not applicable to the work of the sacred poet, in whom we recognize higher gifts than those comprehensively termed human genius, and who is obviously moved by the same Divine Spirit who as an animating and creative principle, pervades all the sacred writings in all their varied forms. We rather design to trace that exalted and divine mode of action itself, according to which the higher moving force does not enter the world as a *Deus ex machina*, but exhibits the divine and the human, the internal and the external, the individual and the general, as they appear in active co-operation.

We, further, do not claim that we have ascertained strict and precise historic truth, but, at the same time, we are conscious that our statement is not founded merely on accidental or arbitrary combinations; nor does it belong to the class of Harduin's discourses, who, in his Chronology, places great confidence in his own calculations, and maintains that Job died in the thirty-fifth year of King David, and that Solomon wrote this history of the former in the third year of his own reign. For the elements which we present in combination, are sustained by all the previous investigations of science. They may, indeed, be also exhibited in a different combination, for the wealth of the world consists precisely in the varied play of possibilities, which no mechanical law can control; still we think that in the present case, a certain scientific interest attaches to any attempt to combine possibilities with such an air of truth, that the circumstances of the poet's life, as developed from the poem itself, may ultimately be presented as a harmonious whole.

The poet, as we have already seen, was probably born in the mountainous region of South Judea. The reader of his work readily perceives that he was familiarly acquainted with all those peculiar scenes of life exhibited by the desert, by the pasture ground, and by the mountain summit. He gazed with a watchful eye on the fugitive beast of the desert; he saw, as he stood on the rocks of the valley, the goat and the wild oryx (antelope) flee from his presence. He had himself at an early period shared in the distress of the fainting caravan, which he so vividly depicts in his poem. Possibly, he himself, like David his predecessor, and Amos his successor, had fed sheep in those regions; possibly too, he had, like the former, contended with the lion that assailed

the flock, and was thus furnished by his own experience with the image which he transfers to God—that he was persecuted by God as the lion is assaulted by his enemy. His own simple mode of life taught him to value and to love the scenes of the ancient patriarchal life which memory had preserved, and, at an early period, a deep feeling of the grandeur and glory of God, who was almighty and inaccessible, but who nevertheless condescended to visit man, took possession of his soul. Even the peculiar element of the Mosaic theocracy could not have left his excitable mind untouched, for we know that the poetry of the Psalms and the Proverbs, with all its original vitality and power, exercised a commanding influence over him. Indeed the earliest notes of the songs of the royal Psalmist had resounded precisely in the rocky vales of his own home. There the victim of Saul's relentless persecution had found many faithful friends, to whom, when happier times came, he did not fail to testify his gratitude by liberal gifts (1 Sam. 30: 26–31.) These events and these sacred songs, were unquestionably long treasured in the memory of the tribes and families which occupied that region. Through such recollections the author of the book learned to breathe the same spirit which pervaded the psalmodic poetry of David and his singers—a poetry altogether conformed in spirit and design to the institutions of Moses. That poetry exults in the possession of the divine word, and allows us to catch many a glimpse of its ideal conception of a theocratic royalty set forth as the central point of a worship that, at a future period, shall spread over the whole world. Indeed David conceived, as early as the period of his persecution, that the fulfilment of this lofty hope was near at hand—he supposed that the realization of the promise given to Abraham was beginning in that royalty which was promised to him. Still the Messianic element rather resembled, in the age of David and Solomon, a glimmering light than a clearly developed power that could control the individual's whole life; to invest it with the latter character, constituted the task of the far later age of Isaiah. We may then assume that those theocratic conceptions had indeed at one time roused and inspired the author of Job, but that the calamities of the times had gradually caused them to recede from his view. He probably beheld himself the decay of the kingdom in the latter portion of Solomon's reign, and may have possibly survived till the Egyptians invaded the country in the reign of Rehoboam, and plundered Jerusalem. Amid

such scenes it was a relief to his mind when the impressions of his childhood revived, and the recollections of the patriarchal age again presented themselves. When the hope of a re-union of the dispersed members of the human race under the authority of the ONE God grew dim, he began to occupy his mind the more earnestly with meditations on that earlier period in which the internal and external divisions of men had not extended as widely as in his own day, and in which, even among pagans, certain individuals, retaining the original faith in the one God, stood forth like rocks that rear their lofty heads far above the waves of the sea. He reflected on that arrogant Titanic race whose rebellion against God had originally occasioned all those divisions. The traditions respecting the untamed forces of the primeval age and the monsters with which the chaotic world teemed, were not unknown even to the neighboring pagan tribes, and now assumed a new interest and importance in his eyes. He did not, withal, cease to be susceptible of impressions derived from the material world. He now eagerly approached the numerous caravans which passed through the country, the *מְבָרֵי דֶרֶךְ* [passers by on the way"] ch. 21: 2, on which, even in his boyhood, he had gazed with interest; he questioned them respecting the condition of distant lands, and was doubtless often pained by the reply that violence and crime prevailed over the face of the earth. Either an internal impulse or external circumstances at length led him to Egypt, that ancient and wonderful country, which he had long desired to behold. If his journey conducted him from the southern border of his native land, he might, without difficulty, also visit the ancient Egyptian mines west of the peninsula of Petrea, and the colonies which the Egyptians, according to the hieroglyphic inscriptions, had named *Mafkat*, the copper land. The habits of his earlier years, when he wandered over the mountains and walked without fear in the desert, enabled him to descend into those depths where man "setteth an end to darkness and thoroughly searcheth the stones of the deepest darkness" (ch. 28: 3,) and to visit the spot where gold and the sapphire glittered, or which the vulture's eye never saw (ver. 6-8.) Here he was suddenly moved by the consideration that man may indeed explore the depths of the earth, but that he is too feeble to explore those of the eternal wisdom of God. He surrendered himself entirely to the impressions which the scenes he witnessed in that strange country, produced on his excited mind. He

gazed with deep interest on the Nile as the "swift ships" (9 : 25) constructed of papyrus, passed before him, and when he saw the reddish eye of leviathan gleaming through the waters, he understood the reason for which the Egyptians compared it to "the-eye of the morning" (41 : 18.) He eagerly sought for information when he saw Behemoth emerge from the river, and listened with eager interest to every account of the habits of the wondrous animal. He entered the rocky world of the tombs, descended into the vaults and surveyed the pictures of the dead which seemed to guard the entrance to their home. The busy scenes of life presented new charms; the rigid forms of judicial processes, and the deep solemnity with which the customary documents were set forth, strangely affected him. But he did not feel happy; every object reminded him painfully that here, too, man and all his works are transitory; two periods of the prosperity of the country had long since passed away, and the splendid monuments around him all alike proclaimed that many royal races had disappeared from the world forever.

When he returned home, doubtless in the full maturity of his age, he composed his great work. He selected as his subject one of those traditions which had descended from a remote antiquity, and which had always possessed for him a peculiar interest; it referred to those devout men of old, who had always awakened his sympathy, and who, while dwelling in a pagan region, continued to revere the *one* true God alone. But other causes combined to persuade him to choose precisely the present subject. He himself must have suffered severe calamities, and have been exposed to a sore temptation; he himself had been well nigh driven to that desperate resistance against God, which he so powerfully portrays in Job. In his severe conflicts he had learned to know all that approaches man with menaces or with allurements, and attempts to pollute the sanctuary of his soul. After many painful struggles he, at length, emerged from deep gloom into the light of day—he found the precious pearl which he had long sought both far and near—he found it in the fear of God and in an humble and childlike submission to the divine will. He now felt happy in the sure possession of it, and in his calm retirement, as his days peacefully glided onward, he enjoyed the *peace of God*. He had had a rich experience of the grace of God, he had obtained very clear views of man's true position and religious obligations; he was now inspired to combine these accumulated treasures and to

preserve them for all future time, as a germ of spiritual life, by embodying his own varied experience in the magnificent poem which he subsequently produced.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

THE historical introduction of the poem exhibits Job as an upright man, prosperous in his external relations, and invested with patriarchal authority and influence. He is not only circumspect in his own walk and conversation, but watches with paternal solicitude over his sons and daughters, lest, in the fulness of their prosperity, they might, at their domestic festivals, forget Him from whom all their blessings flowed, and renounce him in their hearts. But the patriarch himself is, in an unexpected manner, sorely tempted, in order that he might show whether he would be able to preserve, in the midst of great calamities, the same faithfulness which he had maintained in the days of his prosperity. We are introduced into the assembly of the heavenly hosts; here Satan ventures to present himself, and, regarding all human virtue with suspicion and contempt, to question that of Job; he alleges that its hollow character will be betrayed, as soon as Job is exposed to the fiery trial of affliction. To such a trial he would gladly subject Job, but he cannot accomplish his will without the permission of God, whose authority controls all his operations. "Subject him to my power," are the bold words which Satan addresses to God; "the distress which I will inflict on him, will cause him to curse thee to thy face." The Lord, for wise and holy purposes, grants his permission. Calamities in rapid succession overwhelm Job—he loses all his possessions—his sons and daughters perish. But he endures the trial successfully. "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Satan again presents himself before the Lord. "It was a light trial," he exclaims, "but let me touch his bone and his flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face." He again receives permission, and Job, now smitten with sore boils, is found sitting down among the ashes. Temptation, too, approaches him in the words of his own wife: "Curse God, and die!" But he replied: "What! shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" So far he had remained steadfast and immovable; not a sinful word had escaped his lips.

But the severity of the temptation advances. Months of agony and distress pass by. His three friends, in accordance with a previous agreement, are seen coming from different directions, and now they meet in his presence. His sorrows, of which they had received the tidings, were a frightful riddle to them; according to the established opinions of the age, they could not resist the conviction that some secret crime must have led to such a fate. The horror of the scene is even greater than their previous apprehensions had allowed them to believe. During seven days and seven nights they sit with the wretched man in deep silence—not a word of comfort, not a single prayer do they utter. Such treatment Job can no longer endure; he had read in their countenances the dark suspicions that harbored in their souls, and he relieves his swelling heart in loud complaints. The harsh and unfounded accusations which their profound *silence* expressed, impelled him to a course which neither his agony nor the reproaches of his wife could urge him to adopt. He curses the day of his birth, he deploras the sad lot of man on earth, and his language seems well nigh to be an accusation directed against the Almighty himself. "Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul?"

The friends are dismayed; such expressions only tend to confirm their secret suspicions which they had not hitherto ventured to utter without disguise. The most eminent of the three, Eliphaz, begins to speak with great moderation. He expresses his wonder that Job, who had powerfully consoled so many of the afflicted, can now find no comfort for himself, since God's ways are uniformly righteous and equitable. He does not indeed in direct terms reproach Job for speaking presumptuously against God; still, he does not conceal his own opinion, when he describes a certain vision of the night in colors as vivid as if the terror which he had experienced, had again taken possession of him; the grandeur of God had been revealed to him—a grandeur so overpowering that no mortal could behold it. He repeats the words which he heard the spirit utter: "Shall man be just before God? shall a man be pure before his Maker?" (ch. 4: 17.*) He intimates that no one among angels or

* [When the author's rendering in his German version differs from that of the English Bible, the former is usually re-produced in this translation, as far as the idioms of the German and English respectively, will permit.—Tr.]

men can be found, who will justify such language as Job has just ventured to employ; he himself would, if in Job's place, rather humble himself before God; then the chastisement, after passing away, would prove to be beneficial, and would secure a higher degree of happiness and prosperity than he had formerly enjoyed. The address seems to be mild and kind in its terms, but the gentle words do not conceal from Job the harshness with which his three friends, in accordance with prevalent prejudices, really judge him. They, with health and prosperity as their portion, may find it very easy—he thinks—to reprove and admonish a man who is crushed to the ground, for they have no standard which they are able or even willing to apply, in measuring the extent of his distress. “Oh that my grief were thoroughly weighed, and my calamity laid in the balances together!” (6: 2.) He knows, (he continues,) too well that his cry of distress is not feigned, and that while he wishes for death, he does find imperishable comfort in the consciousness of his innocence; but his confidence in his friends, on the other hand, had been delusive; they resemble the deceitful brooks, which the traveller, fainting in the heat of summer, painfully seeks, only to find them empty and dry. And yet he had expected from his friends no greater service than honest and upright words—but they were not *friends*, if they pronounced his lamentations to be criminal. And now he discards all restraint, pours forth all his lamentations, and defies not only his friends, but apparently, also his God. “Is there not a warfare [Engl. vers. marg.] to man upon earth? Am I an overflowing sea, or a monster over which God shall set a watch? What is man, that God should magnify him, and that he should constantly visit even his most inconsiderable sins, seeing that he will soon sink into the dust, and disappear from the earth forever!”

The friends are amazed that Job should venture to proceed in this strain. “How long,” exclaims Bildad indignantly, “wilt thou speak these things?” (8: 2.) He adds rebukingly: Thou hast seen in the fate of thy children an illustration of the righteous judgments of God, whilst thou thyself mayest prosper, if thou wilt do righteously. For the wise sayings of our fathers teach us that, according to a holy and unalterable law, even as the plant dies when the rain of heaven is withheld, so man who casts away righteousness and the fear of God, must perish most miserably. Cease to arraign the justice of God, for thou canst confidently expect that, if thou

art righteous, *that* justice will grant thee the fulness of joy and happiness.—Still, such remonstrances of Job's friends do not aid him in solving the problem, of the whole difficulty of which he alone is fully aware, in consequence of his consciousness of his own innocence on the one hand, and of his unspeakable wretchedness, on the other. "I know it is so of a truth: how indeed should a man be just before God?" (9: 2.) The exceeding grandeur of God does not permit a mortal, even if that mortal is righteous and just, to vindicate himself in the presence of God; hence it is an easy task for Bildad—Job implies—to defend the justice of God in opposition to his afflicted friend. This consideration adds to Job's excitement. "I am innocent," he cries, and, boldly defying the suspicions of his friends, he presumes to assail the divine government of the world, rather than deny the truth of his own convictions. "The earth is given into the hand of the wicked; from whom does *this* proceed save from God!" He now impetuously breaks forth in lamentations; "I loathe my life; I will give vent to my complaint; I will speak in the bitterness of my soul" (10: 1.) He desires to know for what reason, for what sin, God so torments him—God had wonderfully made and hitherto sustained him—had God determined already when he bestowed such blessings, to extinguish them subsequently by the present misery, or convert them into a curse? He curses his life anew, and then begs God to grant him at least some relief before he descends to the land of darkness, which is without any order, and where even the light is like the gloom of midnight.

The friends became sore displeased; Zophar, who now takes his place as the speaker, regards all that Job has uttered as merely swelling words of vanity, to which no one can listen without offence. How can Job dare to defend himself before God, whose hidden wisdom is inaccessible to man—a wisdom so perfect and unerring, that it controls all things on earth according to the standard of righteousness and truth, a wisdom so prevailing, that, as Zophar expresses himself in his blunt and almost rude way, it makes the empty-headed man wise, and converts the wild ass into a man (11: 12.) Like his two predecessors, he admonishes the sufferer to turn his heart to God, and he depicts in smiling images the joy that awaits him, while, with an air of menacing he also points to the destruction of the hardened sinner, whose best hope indeed is simply that he will breathe forth his soul in death. If Job, after listening to Bildad, express-

ed his wonder that his friends can utter nothing but trite and well-known things, while graver and more difficult questions should have received attention, still more does he now wonder at the arrogance of Zophar, which allows him to repeat without a blush, the follies of the former speakers. Conscious of his own superior mental power, he momentarily forgets his pains, and with bitter irony, almost in humorous terms, he says: "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you.—All that you have in rapid succession said respecting the divine wisdom and power, and put forth as if it were new knowledge never before possessed by others, is so obvious and trite, that you may at any time obtain it all from the beasts of the field or the fowls of the air or the fishes of the sea."—And now, in order to show that he knows all these things even more accurately and fully than his friends do, he proceeds to describe in lofty terms the manner in which God, according to his own counsel, builds up and destroys, holds kings, priests and counsellors in his hand, brings hidden things to light and exalts and destroys, or establishes and enslaves entire nations (ch. 12.) "Behold," he continues, (ch. 13,) "mine eye hath seen all this, mine ear hath heard and understood it. What ye know, the same do I know also: I am not inferior to you. But I desire to reason not with you, but with the Almighty whose advocates you vainly and hypocritically claim to be; but think not that ye can thus escape his searching eye." Job now addresses his words to God, and desires that his friends shall be silent witnesses and hearers. He entreats God to withdraw his chastising hand until he (Job) shall have freely uttered all his complaints. While he was rebuking the errors of his friends, a ray of divine light had entered into his soul, and he is conscious that God will sustain, not these presuming advocates, but him who is so unjustly suspected and even accused. Still the dark problem of his calamities weighs too heavily on his soul to permit him, even with all his consciousness of his innocence, to address the Almighty with calmness and reverence. His language becomes passionate, and resembles that of defiance: "How many are mine iniquities and sins? Make me to know my transgression and my sin." (13: 23.) He enquires of God why he imposes such a disproportionate burden of sorrows on men, who, from generation to generation, inherit sin and imperfections. When the tree is cut down, it sprouts again, but when man dies, all hope seems to be extinct forever. It would be far dif-

ferent if the invisible world would offer a place of repose from which God might, in his own good time, again call man forth. Such a possibility Job depicts with deep longings of the soul. "Then (in that case) thou wouldst call, and I should answer thee; thou wouldst desire the work of thine hands" (14: 15.) But Job is still too feeble to entertain this joyful hope; it is indeed the harbinger of a future and happier mental state, but at present it is only a dim light seen in a stormy night, which is quenched again, and thus adds a deeper shade to the surrounding gloom.

The first series of discourses is here completed (14: 22.) If the afflictions of Job conducted him, in consequence of human infirmity, to the use of unbecoming terms in addressing God, the suspicions of his friends, which had betrayed themselves, aggravated all his sorrows, and urged him to employ language which became more and more intemperate. The more his friends urged him to humble himself, or repeated terms which came in conflict with his consciousness of his innocence, the more violent he became in his addresses to God. He reproaches God, doubts his love and justice—we tremble lest the tempter should succeed in urging him to utter the awful word, and positively *curse* his God. But there is another influence in his soul which counteracts that danger—he reflects with gladness on the fact that he had never denied the commandments of the Holy One. Even when he bitterly complains, he is conscious that, in spite of the violent words which his agony extorts, God will acknowledge him as his own; while he despairs of being able to justify himself before the Almighty, he is conscious in his own soul that God will not declare himself in favor of his unwise advocates, but of him, the sufferer, who without disguise or hypocrisy, truthfully utters the sentiments of his soul. His friends feel the force of his words; they have defended God, but not boldly pronounced their suspicions, and their testimony has so far produced no effect. They now advance a step farther, and begin to describe the destitution of the sinner in terms so plain, that Job cannot fail to make the application to himself personally. They do not now utter any thoughts which are, strictly speaking, new, but they make a new application of the wise sayings of the fathers to which Bildad had already referred.

Here Eliphaz again appears as the leader of the others (ch. 15,) but while he holds the main thought constantly in view, he attempts to reach Job partly by increasing,

partly by abating the violence of his reproaches. His re-monstrance includes many considerations:—Job's inconsiderate words do not correspond to the character of a wise man—he disowns all fear of God—he claims that he possesses the wisdom of the first man who proceeded directly from the hand of the Creator—indeed, he identifies himself with that eternal wisdom which dwelt with God before the creation—it would be far more decorous if he would listen meekly to the gentle and comforting words of one who was his superior in age, and who had not directly assailed him—he should bear the fact in mind which had been already mentioned by the speaker (4: 18,) that before God even the angels are not clean (15: 15,) much less man who perishes. Job should consequently give heed to the admonition which he (Eliphaz) pronounces in strict accordance with divine revelation, and also with the traditions of the fathers. The wicked man is constantly afflicted, constantly hears alarming sounds, and the ruin which hovers over his head, will surely come at last upon him; for his bold defiance of God, and his proud reliance on his wealth and power, must necessarily attract a divine punishment; then all on which he depended will ultimately be found to be vanity and emptiness.

When Job replies, he says with truth: “I have now heard many such things: troublesome comforters are ye all” (16: 2.) It is easy—he proceeds—for the prosperous to address the afflicted in such a style; he himself, if their respective circumstances were reversed, could as fluently utter such words as they do. But whether he speaks or is silent, his distress continues in all its intensity, and it does—he concedes—seem to witness against him. God had abandoned him to the mockery of the wicked, who rejoiced in his calamities, and who now found fit associates in these friends, since the latter assailed him with their uncharitable suspicions. Such an experience grieved his very soul. “O earth,” he exclaims, “cover not thou my blood.” And now that God who had, as he previously complained, given him into the hand of his enemies, seems to rise up as a witness in his favor and to produce the record of his innocence. “Be thou my advocate—plead thou for me before thyself—who, who else would advocate my cause?” Upright men are astonished (17: 8) as they gaze on his mysterious calamities; still, the righteous man holds on his way, and strengthens himself in the midst of the contest, whereas the consola-

tions which Eliphaz boasts that he had offered, are utterly worthless.

But Bildad cannot understand the expressions of Job, which seem to contradict themselves. They reveal no genuine consciousness of innocence, but only involve reproaches against him and his companions; he is the more indignant as he secretly feels that these reproaches are deserved. He addresses the sufferer and all who share his sentiments in these words: "Wherefore are we counted as beasts, and reputed vile in your sight?" (18: 3.) Job, as he alleges, resembles a man who rends himself in his madness, but it is of no avail that he assails the ordinances of God and attempts to remove the earth and the rock from their places—the truth still abides, that the wicked man must perish. Bildad now repeats a thought which Eliphaz had just advanced, and which resembles one that had occurred in his own previous address, namely, that the destruction of the wicked is inevitable in consequence of a natural necessity; snares and traps await every step which he takes—he is dragged away from the protection of his tent and consigned to death, to the king of terrors, the ruler of the lower world, and his desolate dwelling affords an awful warning to all who came after him.

It is incomprehensible to Job that his friends should perpetually renew their efforts to vex his soul and break him in pieces (19: 3.) "These ten times have ye reproached me; ye are not ashamed that ye stun me." He justly claims that if they so heavily condemn him in their hearts, as all their words too plainly reveal, they should openly set forth his crime and substantiate their charge. He begs for the sympathy of his friends, at a time when he is bowed down by the visitation of God, when his honor is departed, when his wife, his kinsfolk and his familiar friends forget him in his distress, and even his men-servants and maids refuse to obey him. "Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me. Why do ye persecute me as God, and are not satisfied with my flesh." The wretched man has again approached the abyss of despair, for in his unutterable agony he regards God as his enemy, and appeals even to these unfeeling friends for aid. Suddenly one of those vast revulsions of feeling occurs within him, of which several instances had already appeared; in this fearful struggle rapid transitions from the loftiest aspirations to the depths of humiliation take place. That God,

whom he had just described as an enemy, can surely not entirely forsake him; although his feeble eye may perceive no happy issue, and his incurable plague appears to hurry him to his grave, he is still persuaded that he will yet see in Him, for whom his soul longs, a Redeemer, who will restore to him his life and honor. This thought takes possession of him with supernatural power, and while he utters it, he desires that his words were written in a book, or rather graven in the rock in imperishable characters. He exclaims: "Yea, I know that my Redeemer liveth; he will at last rise up above the dust, and after this skin of mine is destroyed, I shall without (out from) my flesh see God. Yea, I shall see him myself, *mine* eyes—not a stranger—shall behold him; my heart is consumed in my bosom." This gladness of spirit, this longing which is confident of a happy issue even beyond the grave, now combine to renew his strength; he is able, with more composure, to address a few emphatic words to his friends; he exhorts them to persecute him no longer so unjustly, but rather to fear the avenging sword which will surely smite those who are wrathful without reason.

But this course robs him of all the sympathy which his words of entreaty may have awakened in his friends. The wisdom with which, as they flattered themselves, they had addressed him, had, so far, produced no impression, and their displeasure now closes every avenue by which these admonitory words of Job could reach them. Zophar cannot control his heightened indignation, when he says: "I have been made to hear a shameful reproach, and the spirit through my understanding giveth me an answer." Such a remark leads us to expect a new view, but Zophar is only able to repeat the sentiment of Eliphaz with certain variations; if this address and his former exhibit any peculiar features, they are found simply in the special harshness, and even coarseness of the images which he employs. However firmly the wicked man may believe that he is established, he must nevertheless pass away "like his own dung" (20: 7); the air which he keeps back in his mouth, like favorite food, in order to enjoy the relish, turns into the poison of asps in his bowels; God himself will pluck from the belly of the wicked man all that he devoured; as he devoured all, so his house shall not be built up; once more shall his belly be filled, but—with food that, like fire, consumes him; heaven and earth rise up against him and combine to uncover his iniquity.

Hitherto Job had, from a certain feeling of reverence, refrained from the introduction of a particular lesson derived from experience, with which he could have easily impaired the force of the sentiment originally expressed by Eliphaz; he had once, in a moment of passionate excitement alluded to the lesson, but now, when his friends for the third time assail him, and that too, with unrestrained violence, he distinctly sets it forth. It is the following proposition: If it be asserted that great affliction is always the evidence of great iniquity, then, on the other hand, a high degree of earthly prosperity must be an infallible proof of exalted virtue. And yet Job can adduce well known instances in which persons who were confessedly degenerate and ungodly, enjoyed a very high degree of temporal prosperity. The contemplation of such facts startles even Job, and he shudders (21: 6) while he pronounces these incontestable truths. There are men, he declares, who spend their days in peace, enjoying their wealth, listening to the strains of music, courting sensual enjoyments, and at the same time, repeating the awful words: "Let God depart from us.—What is the Almighty God?" Neither can it be alleged with truth that the well-merited punishment speedily overtakes them in general; it avails as little to urge that their children at least pay the penalty, since such a consideration does not disturb the repose of the wicked. He adds that he well knows the real sentiments of his friends, and directs them to consult experienced travellers; these will confirm his assertions and demonstrate that hosts of men may be found in every land who renounce the true God, and nevertheless prosper in the world.

What can the three friends reply? They cannot undertake to solve this dark problem of the divine government of the world; hence they can no longer maintain the struggle with Job by repeating their original proposition that the sufferings of the individual strictly correspond to the degree of his guilt. It has not been sustained in the second series of discourses which terminates at this point (21: 36.)—Eliphaz is now driven to the expedient of charging Job openly and directly with the gravest transgressions, and to maintain that the divine judgments which had overtaken the latter, are to be thus explained; surely God would not so punish Job—he says—for leading a life of righteousness. "Was not thy wickedness great? Were not thine iniquities infinite? Thou didst oppress thy poor brethren, and refuse thy aid to the

destitute, the widow and the orphan; therefore sudden fear troubleth thee. Or, seest thou not the darkness and the flood that overwhelm thee? Thou resemblest wicked men of old time, who vainly thought that God did not look down upon the earth. Rememberest thou not that the judgment of the flood overtook those who said in a spirit of impious defiance to God: "Depart from us?" (ch. 22.) Eliphaz utters his charges with a violence that is increased by his own secret feeling of his injustice in heaping such bitter reproaches on a man whose character had hitherto been untarnished and pure; for his only authority is a theory already overthrown by Job, whose arguments he disingenuously evades. He recoils himself from the harsh judgment which he has pronounced, and begs Job to seek a reconciliation with God, closing with an animated description, resembling one in the first series of discourses, of the great blessedness which shall then be the portion of Job. Such language naturally produced no effect on Job, who had long since detected the real sentiments of his pretended comforters. He reasons with calm dignity, refrains from passionate exclamations, and, in the presence of God, repeats his declaration respecting his consciousness of innocence; he is firmly convinced that he could be fully sustained before the divine tribunal, if it were possible for him to approach the latter. While he passes by the unfounded reproaches which had just been repeated, and forbears from a special examination of them, he recurs to the well known prosperity of many wicked men; he insists the more positively on this circumstance, as Eliphaz, had dreaded to discuss it. He points to the varied calamities of successive generations of the primitive people who had occupied the country, but had been dispossessed by invaders who then ruled over them. He describes the dark courses of those who have apparently conspired against the divine light, and, under the cover of the night, perpetrate the most abominable crimes; such facts demonstrate the vanity of the theory of the three friends that iniquity never escapes the deserved chastisement. He concludes with the challenge: "If it be not so now, who will make me a liar, and make my speech nothing worth?" (24: 25.)

The friends are sorely embarrassed: they know not how to evade the force of the facts which Job has adduced a second time. They are ashamed to repeat once more the reproaches which they had so often made, for they can establish these by no new facts or considerations, and Job's

calm disregard of them had painfully impressed them with a sense of his truth and their ignorance and folly. Bildad (ch. 25,) with great feebleness resorts to the general proposition, with which Eliphaz had originally opened the discussion, and repeated at the commencement of the second series of discourses—that no mortal is just before God; he implies that Job should not have presumed to utter the language which his arrogance had dictated. His reply is really equivalent to a confession of the utter helplessness of himself and his two friends. Job at once perceives it, avails himself of it, and mockingly says to Bildad: "How hast thou helped him that is without power? How savest thou the arm that hath no strength?" (26: 2. Bildad had, besides, by his vain repetitions, again assumed to be the advocate of God, without ability for the task or any divine sanction, as Job had previously set forth very plainly. Once more he soars far above the three friends, and produces a magnificent description of the divine might and glory, which his three friends had attempted to employ as weapons against him (ch. 26.) The shadows that tremble in the deep, the lower world unveiled before the eyes of God, the earth floating over empty space, the waters gathered together in the clouds, the parting asunder of light and darkness, the vast power of God which had already at the beginning of the creation prostrated all the forces that resisted his appointed order—these are the impressive images which, in brief but emphatic terms, he presents to his friends. "And yet," he adds with overwhelming force, "these are only the ends—the outgoings, as it were—of God's ways; we merely hear them *whispered*. Who is it that can listen to the *thundering* of his mighty power?"

Job pauses (27: 1); have his friends aught to say in reply? They are speechless; the third, the most intemperate of them, does not venture to open his mouth in this closing series of discourses. Job avails himself, consequently, of his victory, in order to pour forth, without interruption from others, his inmost thoughts and feelings; he speaks with all that moderation and composure which he had won after a protracted and most painful struggle. He utters the following sentiments:—Never will he permit the vain suspicions of his friends to prevail over his consciousness of his innocence. If he had seemed to deny that God governed the world with righteousness, he never designed to assail so impiously the laws of God. In place of despis-

ing the divine government of the world, which crime God would surely punish, he had rather intended to warn his three friends themselves against the presumption of passing sentence on the ways of God, inasmuch as such a course would inevitably bring down a divine judgment on their own heads. In truth, here all must concede that a dark problem, a deep mystery, was presented; other secrets man can explore; he can penetrate into the depths of the earth, and there seize upon its treasures, but the divine wisdom he cannot find or fathom in the land of the living; he cannot purchase it with all his treasures. The lower world had also heard the fame thereof (28: 22;) but that wisdom was in the possession of God alone. He understood it—He had stamped the impress of it on the earth,—and He had said to man: “Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding” (28: 28.)

At this point the form of the dialogue passes over into that of a monologue. Job had, in his final reply to his friends, demonstrated with great calmness and dignity that they themselves had been guilty of arrogance when they accused him of presumption—they had implied that they were in possession of divine wisdom, and had presumed to sit in judgment on their afflicted friend. In his last discourse (ch. 29—ch. 31) he seems to take counsel with his own heart alone. He glances with sadness at the former period of his life, in which he had enjoyed the richest blessings of God, had been beneficent and kind to large numbers, and enjoyed the esteem of all. With these scenes he contrasts his present situation—the scorn and contempt of the meanest of the people of the land, his incessant and aggravated anguish of body and of mind, the hiding of the face of God, the alienation of his friends. The present affords a terrible contrast to the peace and prosperity of the past. He finally surveys his whole inner and external life, in its relations to the divine will and divine law. He had not only avoided evil, watched carefully over his thoughts and feelings, and, as a rich and powerful man, refrained from oppressing the feeble and helpless, but had also zealously endeavored to do good. He is, besides, conscious that he is free from other sins, such as his friends had suspected—defiance of God or man, reliance on his wealth, delight in revenge, a cowardly concealment of sins. While all these thoughts crowd upon his soul, the wish arises that he might be permitted to conduct his cause before God personally, and set forth his claims. If his adversary

(31 : 32,) whom he does not name, but by whom he means the Almighty, would set forth his charge in writing, he (Job) would carry it as an ornament on his shoulder, and, like a prince, boldly meet the answer. He is willing, if he does not speak the whole truth, to endure the heaviest punishments of God. With this declaration he closes his discourse (31 : 40.)

Let us momentarily glance at the course which the dialogue has taken. The original remarks of the three friends were unquestionably well founded. The latter were fully justified in vindicating the honor of God and setting forth the feebleness and sinfulness of man, as well as in firmly maintaining the principle that God governs the world in righteousness. But they gave a one-sided and mechanical character to this principle, and deduced from it inferences in reference to Job which could not be sustained. After having thus placed themselves in a false position, they were, in the progress of the conflict, continually compelled to retreat, and at length, even when they proceeded to open and direct accusations, they could not prevail. But, on the other hand, Job had allowed himself to be driven to the utterance of language which exposed him to the danger of becoming entirely alienated from God. However, his long continued fidelity to God does not suffer shipwreck in a single tempest; his candor and truth, which tolerate no concealments, but exhibit him both in his strength and in his weakness, ultimately received the spiritual reward of an increase of composure and strength. Hence, at first, when God appeared to deal as an enemy with him, he seems, in his turn, to speak of God with enmity and defiance. But even in the first series of discourses, better sentiments begin already to act, in the midst of his agony and despair; in the second series, his peace of mind and his hope of relief acquire new strength, and, at its close, he is already sufficiently assured to address his friends aggressively, after they have so far aroused him. They now attempt to evade his attack, and, at the commencement of the third series, make a final and desperate but unsuccessful effort to crush him; he, now, renews the attack, and soon comes forth from the struggle as the acknowledged conqueror. He then proceeds, by an appeal to the unfathomable wisdom of God which his friends had feebly and unwisely employed as a weapon against him, to attempt to solve or remove a contradiction in his own soul, of which he is fully aware. That contradiction or internal conflict is the

following:—On the one hand, he recognizes the law of divine justice, but cannot perceive that justice visibly maintained in the world; on the other hand, he feels himself impelled to hold fast to his faith that the ways of God will ultimately be gloriously vindicated. He concludes that man can find that hidden wisdom only by entire submission to the divine will—by the fear of God. Once more, as we have seen, he gives vent to his sorrows and most positively asserts his innocence. But he has not even yet perceived the real want which hinders the formation of happy and peaceful relations with God—he is not yet conscious that his language had been bold and irreverent. While he repels with reason the insinuations of his friends, and refuses to confess crimes which he never committed, he is not sufficiently conscious of the infirmities and the sinfulness which adhere to all men; the latter truth he repeatedly admits, but he does not apply this truth with that deep humility, which his friends might have justly demanded, if they had not unfortunately combined with their exhortations those special charges which Job well knew to be unfounded. He could indeed meet such false accusations by a reference to his pure and devout life; still, when he has silenced his friends, and even when he sincerely protests that he is innocent before God, he fails to recognize the truth that no man is justified in relying on his own virtue and righteousness, and that it is God alone, whose power and grace can sustain man. Job's longing after God, is unquestionably a holy principle, but even this longing is combined with an irreverent and unholy spirit of defiance; of this the evidence is found in his last discourse, in which he conceives of God as approaching him with a written accusation, and himself as fearlessly and boldly meeting every accusation as one against whom even God can make no complaint.

These considerations presented themselves to the mind of one of the spectators, who had witnessed the contest in perfect silence. Elihu surveys both parties with indignation—the three friends, for condemning Job without supporting their decision by evidence in any form—and Job, for supposing that because he is conscious of his innocence in reference to the accusations of his friends, he must necessarily be altogether righteous and pure in the eyes of God. He had listened with deep interest to both parties, but had been restrained, when he thought of his youth, from engaging without a summons in the conflict himself (32: 6). Now, however, when not only the three friends are silent, but Job also

ceases to speak, the Spirit of God that is in him, impels him irresistibly to speak, without fearing or flattering men. "Behold, I am within as wine that was not opened, it bursts like new skins." He reminds Job in brief but forcible terms, that even if truth were on his side in other respects, he had surely erred herein, that, in his excitement, he had spoken irreverently of God. Why does he arraign God for not addressing him directly as man speaks to man? God communes with man not only in dreams and visions of the night, and thus teaches him to be humble—affliction itself is a language, teaching him who can understand it, to confess his sins and gratefully praise the grace of God. In this manner God speaks once, yea, twice (33: 14) to a man, not for the purpose of driving him to destruction, but of preserving him from it. He asks whether Job has aught to say in reply—if not, requests him to listen further to his words. Here Job becomes aware that he now has an opponent before him of a very different character from that of the other three—he feels the speaker's power and remains silent. Elihu then reminds him, further, that he had complained as if God had taken his right away, and caused him to lie against it (34: 6,=required him to confess himself guilty of offences of which he was really innocent;) he had, indeed, almost implied that it was of no avail even when man remained faithful to God. How could he entertain such thoughts, when all man's views of right and justice proceed from God himself, and when God had not only created the world, but continued to govern it with undeserved love. He, as the sovereign Judge, applies the same standard to the high and the lowly; to him man's most secret steps are revealed; he so controls the lot alike of the individual and of a nation, that truth and justice are ultimately vindicated. It is fitting for man, on the other hand, to confess his sins in humility, and to beseech God to reveal to him that which is hidden. Hence judicious men would unquestionably say that Job had not spoken wisely, and that a continuance of the present trial, which had been divinely sent, would be profitable to him. If it sometimes seems as if the righteous man derived no benefit from his fear of God, or, as if God did not listen to his supplications, the cause must always be traced to the unholy spirit and the secret pride of the suppliant. Job should strictly examine himself, and ascertain whether he had not so erred, even if he were free from the sins with which he had been charged.

Job continues to be silent, and Elihu proceeds again (36 : 1.) He has yet somewhat to say on God's behalf. His words are spoken in sincerity—it is not necessary that he should, like his predecessor, adopt a dishonest course. "Behold, God is mighty, and despiseth not any." These words express the most exalted truth that he can pronounce—the union of divine omnipotence with tender condescending love. "He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous : but with kings are they on the throne ; yea, he doth establish them forever, and they are exalted." If they be bound in fetters of misery, a salutary humiliation is designed ; the wicked alone are thereby provoked to wrath, and consequently perish by their own fault ; but the affliction of the humble leads to their deliverance. "Even so," says Elihu to Job, "he would remove thee out of the strait into a broad place, where there is no straitness. (35 : 16). He now appends a solemn warning, and begs him not to long for the night that devours entire nations, evidently alluding to Job's repeated wish that death would deliver him. His words seem to resemble those of the three friends, who at one time opened cheerful prospects to Job, and then resorted to terms of warning and reproach. But the difference consists in the motives of Elihu, who does not refer to any special transgression, but is speaking generally, from the fulness of his heart. He again extols God, who is so mighty and exalted, and yet condescends to reveal himself in his works, as an incomparable teacher of feeble man. To praise and exalt Him, is the duty of all. Elihu describes the divine glory in the ascending vapor, in the falling rain, in the unfolding of the clouds, which can both bless and chastise men—such is the language of the Almighty Teacher ! Elihu is led to select these images at the moment when, on glancing upward, he notices the approach of a thunder-storm ; it approaches rapidly. "Listen—listen to the noise of his voice, and the sound that goeth out of his mouth" (37 : 2.) With new life and animation he now proceeds to describe the power of God as revealed in nature, exhorts Job to lay all pride aside and bow in humility before his Maker. Does Job understand the wonders of nature ? Can he explain the mode in which God arches the sky ? Then let him not presume to dispute with God. All the glory of the world combined is unfit to be compared to the awful splendor which surrounds God ; nevertheless, he graciously condescends to those who fear him, and do not trust in their own wisdom. "The Almighty—we cannot find

him out; exalted in power, and in judgment, and in the fullness of justice—he doth not afflict. Men do therefore fear him; he respecteth not any that are wise of heart.” (37 : 24.)

Elihu utters these concluding words with a certain haste, as if a holy dread had seized him; he is silent—the tempest has come!—The thunder is hushed, and Jehovah’s voice, in majesty and power, addresses Job: “Who is he that darkeneth the decree by words without knowledge? Gird up now thy loins like a man; I will ask thee; teach thou me.” And now Jehovah unfolds his own grandeur; he speaks as first with divine irony, when he addresses the man who had forgotten his own insignificance, and dared to reproach Him; still, his words are only apparently severe; they reveal unspeakable love and condescension. He refers to the wonders exhibited at the creation of the heavens and the earth, when the morning-stars sung hymns of praise, when the proud waves were confined within their allotted space, and when the first morning rays illumined the earth. He speaks of all the secret forces in nature, and of that wisdom which is revealed alike in the laws that control the heavens, and in the gift of reason which man received. He exhibits his varied creations, the beasts which his hand fashioned variously, the order and beauty revealed in the administration of all things, the manifold exhibitions of power combined with goodness and with wisdom. He has granted Job’s wish—he stands before him. But Job cannot now find the words which, as he had repeatedly declared, he desired to employ in vindicating himself before God. If the words of Elihu had moved him, he is still more powerfully affected when Jehovah himself appears and speaks—he can only exclaim in fear and dread: “Behold I am vile; what shall I answer? I lay my hand upon my mouth” (40: 4.) His confession is not satisfactory—he has not yet acknowledged the guilt which he contracted by that earlier language of defiance. Again he is summoned: “Gird up, then, thy loins like a man; I will ask thee; teach thou me.” The man who even now does not appear to be conscious of the greatness of his guilt, deserves to hear the words: “Deck thyself, then, with pride and majesty, and array thyself with glory and splendor. Pour out the waves of thy rage; behold all that is exalted, and abase it.” But this feeble mortal, far from being able to reach the level of his God and Judge, cannot even, control those gigantic ani-

mals which God's creative power, in its divine fulness, had called into existence—Behemoth, at whose side, while he reposes, the smaller beasts fearlessly play—Leviathan, whose power exhibits such wonders, who is a stranger to fear, and is the king of the proudest beasts of prey.—At length Job is completely humbled—he humbly repeats the words which God had pronounced, and adds the confession of his guilt, expressed in the language of grateful praise. “Who is he that covers the decree without knowledge?—Therefore have I uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for me, which I knew not.—Hear, I beseech thee, and I will speak; I will ask thee; teach thou me.—I heard of thee only by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee. Therefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.”

Here his trial ends; he has passed through it, even if he stumbled and had well nigh fallen. He is now cleansed, and raised to a nearer union with God. But to the three friends God declares that his wrath is kindled against them, “because ye have not spoken of me in uprightness as my servant Job hath.” They are commanded to offer up a burnt-offering, and Job is directed to pray that they may be forgiven. They obey the divine command—and now, when Job prays for them, not only without secret ill-will, but with sincere love, the Lord delivered him from all his afflictions. His kindred visit and comfort him. Jehovah blessed him so abundantly that “his latter end was more than his beginning;” he is again surrounded by sons and daughters, and the owner of enlarged possessions. “So Job died, being old and full of days.”

ARTICLE II.

MARTIN LUTHER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF JULIUS KÖSTLIN.

By GEORGE DIEHL, D. D., Frederick, Md.

MARTIN LUTHER was born on the 10th of November, 1483, at Eisleben, whither his father John, a miner, had removed from Möhra, his former residence. He was originally a peasant according to Luther's own account, as were also

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the father of John and his grandfather. The name is evidently the same as Lothar, Chlothacker. (Kleostratos.*) His mother Margaret, whose maiden name was Lindeman, was a descendant of a family of Eisenach. The day of his birth was distinctly recorded and the year also 1483, and not 1484. His parents soon afterward removed to Mansfeld, where his father became a member of the town council.

In the training of the child, the parents were most strict and rigorous in their discipline, under which Martin tasted something of the terrors of the law. Thus he was brought up to a correct, moral life. His father's moral perception discerned the depraved character of the clergy of that day, suspecting their knavery and hypocrisy. His mother is praised by Melancthon† for her modest deportment, piety and devotion—*pudicitia, timor Dei et invocatio*. Of his father, after his death, Luther said it was proper for him to mourn the loss of such a parent who had supported him by the sweat of his brow, and made him what he was:—*dignum est—lugere me talem parentem;—Pater misericordiae—me—per ejus sudores aluit et finxit qualis, qualis sum*.

The income from his father's labor was sufficient to enable him to support his son at a Latin School, first at Mansfeld, in 1497 at Magdeburg under the Franciscans, and from 1498 at Eisenach, where his mother's relatives were still living. Luther in the mean time with other poor scholars was under the necessity of crying before the doors of the citizens, *panem propter Deum*, and singing for his bread. At Eisenach there was an accomplished Grammarian, J. Trebonius. Luther already gave proofs of superior talents—*vis ingenii acerrima et imprimis ad eloquentiam idonea*‡ and was drawn by his capacities to a higher institution of learning. His parents allowed him to go to the University of Erfurt in 1501. His course of studies there led him into the dominant system of sharp dialectics. His scholastic studies were chiefly the writings of Johannes von Wesel, while the tendency to a Reformation in this renowned Erfurt student seemed to be entirely suspended. Luther became a Baccalaureus 1503 and a *Magister* 1505. In reliance upon his excellent talents, his father and friends hoped he would make his fortune in worldly posts of honor; and therefore decided that he should be a lawyer.

* Abel, die deutschen Personnamen.

† *Vita* Martin Luther, Great Reform. 1841-3.

‡ Melancthon 4.

Of Luther's religious development at this time, nothing more is known than that he was imbued with a moral and religious bias which he doubtless brought with him from home; but he walked in the unevangelical way of salvation prescribed by the then Catholic Church, without being guided by any one to an acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures. Now we hear of fearful overpowering terrors with which his mind was agitated by continued reflections on the wrath of God. To this the sudden death of a friend probably by murder* contributed. Inward anguish, from which he could find no relief, drove him to the sudden determination to enter upon a Monastic life. By the end of the year 1505, he became an Augustinian at Erfurt, unexpectedly to his friends, to the deep grief of his father, and without clear conviction of his own conscience, *magis raptus quam tractus*.† In 1507 he received ordination as a priest. With sincere and deep earnestness, Luther gave himself up to the deepest monastic humiliation. Not less diligently did he prosecute his theological studies. He nearly committed to memory the works of Gabriel von Biel, and of D' Ailly, carefully read those of Occam and Gerson, and at last the complete works of Augustine. But his mental conflicts and anguish, and his agonizing doubts with regard to his salvation, instead of diminishing, increased to the highest degree, as he went through his religious duties. Eagerly did he receive the encouraging advice of a simple-hearted old brother of the Convent, who directed him to the article on the forgiveness of sin and spoke much of faith; and yet farther was he assisted by the comforting instructions of Staupitz, the General of his Order. The evidences of grace as pointed out by the Church fathers, Bernhard and Augustine, became dear to him; but the most decisive was, that above all things he entered deeply into the study of the Holy Scriptures.

Dr. Staupitz having directed attention to the genius and learning of this modest monk, he was called by Frederick the Elector, in 1508, to the Chair of Philosophy in his new University at Wittenberg. He read Dialectics and on Philosophy according to Aristotle. In 1509 he became Baccalaureus *ad Biblia*, and 1512, Doctor of Theology. From a visit to Rome which he made in 1510 on business connected with the Convent he received impressions with regard to the corruption of the Romish Church, which afterward influenced his

* Jürgens & Meurer. † Letters 2. 47.

zeal against her; but as yet these produced no breach with the Church to which he had fully given his faith. In 1516 he was appointed Vicar of his order for Misnia and Thuringia.

In the mean time, in most intimate connection with his inner life, there progressed that transformation of his views, convictions and efforts, to which, since 1517, he felt called from above. During the first years of his professorship he did not rise above the prevailing system of Aristotle. That he was thoroughly versed in the same is admitted and his earliest published sermons furnish clear proofs of it.* But soon afterward, as the wants of his mental state demanded, he transferred his fond devotion from Philosophy to Theology, which he regarded as the essence of all wisdom, *nucleum nunciis, medullam ossium scrutatur*.† The germ of saving truth he sought for himself and his hearers in the sacred Scriptures, and especially in the Epistle to the Romans, and the Psalms. In his exposition of both these books,—for the first time the Gospel light shone forth once more. In his Scriptural teachings from the sacred desk, he was particularly concerned that the truth, which had been living food for his own soul, should prove the bread of life to his congregation in general; and with this view he expounded the word in a practical, popular and most simple manner.‡ Of human books the works of Augustine continued to be most highly valued. Next to the Bible, his acquaintance with Tauler and the German Theology produced the deepest impressions on his mind.¶ In this author, whose views took a stronger hold on his intellect and feelings than even Augustine, he recognized the highest human testimony to that truth which with profound labor and study he obtained from the word of God.§ Resting on the Bible and rejoicing in the agreement of his favorite authors with revealed truth, he entirely abandoned Aristotle and the Scholastic Theology, although he had not yet withdrawn from the Papal Church. He was glad when he saw his opinions predominant in the University.¶ He felt confident that while scholasticism

* Christmas 1515. Loescher Ref. Acts. 1. 231-241.

† Letters 1. 6.

‡ Comp. Sermons from 1515 to 1517. Loescher—Sermons on the Ten Commandments, and his Exposition of the Penitential Psalms—and explan. Lord's Prayer, 1517.

¶ See Sermons, &c. . . § See Letters 1. 40. Loescher 1. 794.

¶ Letters 1. 57.

was sustained merely by logic, he had planted himself upon the everlasting word (*nulla forma syllogistica tenet in terminis divinis*, Loescher.) From his philosophical theses, in Luther's Heidelberg disputations 1518, it is evident that he cherished for Platonism at least much more respect than for Aristotelism.* Along with his mystical tendency in the sphere of religion he felt a deep sympathy with the progress of the age in general; and thus he sided with Reuchlin in opposition to the inquisitors of Cologne.†

His religious views, as he thought, were as little in opposition to the Church as during his convent life, where already he saw the sermons of Huss, and was surprised at the condemnation of so powerful a teacher of the Scriptures, without however doubting the righteousness of the verdict, he closes the book of the heretic. During his external connection with the Romish system, he had already obtained a complete and thorough knowledge of evangelical truth not only in the hitherto mystical sense, but according to the faith of the Reformation.‡ He had arisen from his inward conflicts into the sure basis of salvation—a faith in the unconditional grace of God. And in the statement of his views he adhered strictly to the formulas of Augustine: that by nature man seeks only the things of the flesh, (by which Luther understood not merely *sensualis concupiscentia*, but the whole character and conduct of unconverted man): and all his good works before he has faith, are sin. God must first by an act of grace make the tree good, before it can bring forth good fruit; and man can in no way prepare himself beforehand for the exercise of faith, *unica dispositio ad gratiam est aeterna Dei electio et predestinatio*—On the side of man it is mere rebellion,|| and Luther excludes all self-boasting from the works of the regenerated,—*omnis justus vel in bene agendo peccat*. Toward the real obedience of the divine commandments man can merely do this,—*quidquid non fit, ignoscitur* (345). Luther's comprehension of the plan of salvation leads us next into the sphere of that mysticism. The personal salvation of the individual subject is based upon the mediation of Christ, in the condition of faith. And indeed faith in the sense of this mystical theory is identical with a pure, unselfish, entire, humble surrender of all that we have.

* Loescher 2. 45. † Letters 1. 9. Year 1512—13. Year 1514.

‡ Dieckhoff. Deutsche Zeitschrift 1852. 17.

|| Loescher 1. 329. Theses 1516—1517.

The genuine fear of God in believers is this which—*pure propter Deum timet Deum*.* The believer must surrender to God—*sese in purum nihilum resignare* (782)—his own will which as the source of sin comes from Satan†—must renounce, not indeed outwardly but inwardly all created things‡ —*omnia habere indifferentia*. That which God demands above all things, and through which alone we can obtain a participation in his divine goodness, is *humilitas* (790.) But the whole nature of faith is positively comprehended. In general it is: *Substantia rerum non apparentium, qua mens abstrahatur ab omnibus his quae videntur et quibus cupiditates irritantur; in ea quae non videntur projicitur*.||

In reference to Christ, faith is a complete surrender of all we have to the perfect union with the Savior himself. (761.) Luther differed from the theory of this mysticism in the experience of his whole inner life, which was not only evangelical but pre-eminently religious in his views of grace, having a deep consciousness of the nothingness of temporal things. His devotion to God included a renunciation of his own righteousness, a misgiving as to his own salvation except through the righteousness of Christ. Faith, as faith in the unseen, is really in opposition to a trust in one's own visible works of righteousness (289.) The *justitiiarii*, the proud self-righteous are those against whom Luther preached most severely. And he found, as he saw, the deficiency of our own righteousness and the continued infirmities of the regenerated themselves. (249.) Thus faith turns to Christ alone. He alone obeyed the law and *impletionem suam nobis impertit*. Faith also looks to him as the crucified one and says, *es justitia mea, ego autem sum peccatum tuum; tu assumpsisti meum et dedisti mihi tuum*.§—thus, *sufficit Christus per fidem, ut sis justus*.¶ and indeed Christ must continue to be our righteousness during the whole life, in so far as ours even in a state of grace never can suffice. Hence it follows that we are really just *ex sola imputatione Dei*, in so far as he does not impute sin.** That we can say, *omnis sanctus peccator revera, justus vero per reputationem Dei miserentis* (335.) The mercy of God gives us an inward

* Loescher I. 259. † Exp. Lord's prayer, 21. 188.

‡ Loescher I. 785. || Loescher I. 230. 758.

§ Letters I. 17. Ap. 1518. ¶ Loescher I. 761.

** 335. 288. Year 1516.

witness in the deep consciousness, "Thy sins are forgiven thee."* But Luther cautions us against supposing that the forgiveness of sin takes place only when there is this inward assurance.† Yet in Luther's opinion justifying faith and self-denial and self-crucifixion, as also hope, often flow into each other in many ways.‡

At first he applied the term *righteous* only to those to whom the quality of righteousness was restored,|| and thus taught a continuing *justificari*, and afterwards, the restoration of this quality—*sanctificatio, purgatio*—was comprehended without any perceptible difference of meaning in *justificatio* as the forgiveness of sin simply under *justificatio*. Yet we see how completely his teaching differs from Augustine and the mysticism. That assurance of faith in the grace of Christ, as it secures the pardon of sin and justifies the believer, is the source of holy impulses and joyful works of righteousness, as that faith which first turns to God alone. Man does not become just by works, but justification itself (in this comprehensive sense) produces good works (761. 778.) Faith in turning away from all visible things (that is from all that is not God) to God himself (245-250) leaves all other inclinations to be absorbed in this divine feeling.§ Out of a confiding faith springs a sweet love, which through faith produces all good works and overcomes all¶ and whilst Christ dwells in the heart the believer follows his instructive example and pattern. (955.) Whatever good works the believer now performs he does, not for his own righteousness, *nulla operatio confert justo aliquid justitiae, sed Deo per eam et hominibus servitur* (778.) Even secular works performed in this way, the employments of a prince or those of a common mechanic are as acceptable to God as prayer, fasting and vigils.** There will be imparted all that grace through the word, in which there is nothing else than Christ himself, the bread of life. This bread is given externally by means of the services of priests and teachers of the word; as also in the sacrament of the altar, internally through God's own teachings for God is always in his word.†† More precisely is it imparted through the Gospel after the Law has

* Exp. Pen. Ps. 37. 393. † Exp. Lord's Pr. 21. 211.

‡ Comp. Loescher 1. 759. 288. || 258. Year 1515.

§ 230. Opp. Exeg. 12. 5. ¶ Loescher 1. 230.

** 252. Year 1515. †† Expo. L. Pr. 203.

first done its work, that is, has brought us chastened and humbled to grace.* Then only the Gospel proclaims peace and pardon. This office of the Law, Luther includes in the idea of the Gospel, in that he comprehends in this idea the entire contents of the New Testament Scriptures; but only the proclamation of grace is *opus evangelii proprium*, that (as *latificat mandatum, magnificat peccatum*) much more an *opus evangelii alienum*.† Luther was not conscious that the predominant church views contradicted those truths which had become the central point of his faith and life, nor yet did he cease to recognize impressively such elements of the teachings of the Church as could not be permanently reconciled with that central point. He demanded in opposition to the reigning custom, that bishops should have respect to preaching as the first aim of their office;‡ and that sermons should be free from fictitious histories, false legends, human conjectures and human ordinances;|| and that they should preach not only (as alas was universally the case) on *mores et opera*, but especially on *fides et justitia*.§ Such Luther thought, should be the first object of a reforming effort, and the second should be measures against the inner demoralization of the clergy, in whose inner experience the world should be overcome.¶ But in all this, he regarded his own teachings as in harmony with the doctrines of the Church, as he only noticed their defects or short-comings in practice and not in doctrine. His own catholic views are yet strikingly manifest, for example, in his relation to the cultivation of holiness. He preached earnestly against that belief which seeks individual external helps through certain individual patrons, as if all might not accomplish all things and as if there were nothing higher to implore, and placed their real worth in this, that we should praise God through these. He defended the worship of the Saints, our intercessors with God, against the Picards.** Although Luther took offence at the life of priests and popes, there does not appear as yet the trace of a doubt with respect to the authority and plenary power of the external Church as such. Obedience to her, the infallible, is identical in his view with

* Praed. 123. Loescher I. 762, 770. † Loescher. 785.

‡ Loescher I. 757, 225.

|| Loescher I. 225 Opp. Ex. F E. 12. 29. 197, 198.

§ Loescher I. 778. ¶ Loescher I. 229.

** Praed 28. 30. 40. 43. Loescher I. 792.

obedience to Christ.* Of Peter's power of the keys, it is related, *nisi Christus omnem potestatem suam dedisset homini, nulla fuisset ecclesia perfecta.*† We do not see that Luther had as yet reflected more on the nature of this power. By virtue of his inward development, similarly with the German Mystics, he did not enter on such reflections at all, until driven to it by a struggle for that which was to him the most sacred. Nothing can be a clearer and more remarkable evidence than his entire want of a consciousness of his already begun opposition to the Church and also to his master Augustine and the Mystic Theology, that his spirit, out of which his views arose, was a positive, inwardly and unconsciously witnessing and impelling spirit, and not at all the spirit of negation, or of destruction, or merely of critical reflection. In his personal deportment and actions he exhibited strikingly the characteristic of one who having himself, in his own misery, truly experienced mercy, is charitable to the faults of others.‡ Nothing did he repel more strenuously than the praises of his friends.|| What he desired of friends was that they should intercede for his infirmities.§ When at length he had to come forth as champion for his faith, he commanded attention, because *mores congruerent cum oratione docentis videreturque oratio non in labris nasci sed in pectore*¶ Even the sagacity of the bitterest enemies could not detect any fault in the whole of his hitherto life. The sale of Indulgences which Tetzel the Dominican, with a commission from the Bishop of Mentz, was carrying on in the neighborhood of Wittenberg gave occasion to Luther's appearing as a champion not against the Church as he intended, but for her glory and according to her own real views and will. He began to warn his flock against the abuse of indulgences, in the confessional and from the pulpit, while his dogmatic opinion of the same consequent upon his central point of faith, although only gradually, (at first partially,) took shape in his own mind from seeing the dangerous tendency thereof. From the word "*μετανοια*" he perceived what a perversion it is to place repentance merely in *frigidus quasdam satisfactiones et laboriosissimam confessionem*. He himself relates, *hæc mea cum sic ferveret meditatio, ecce subito coeperunt circum nos strepere—nova indulgentiarum classica.*** Now

* 12. 83. † Loescher I. 280. ‡ Letters I. 17. 18. 37-51.

|| Letters I. 50. § Letters I. 58. ¶ Mel. 6.

** Letters I. 117.

it was necessary to point out what the appropriate *satisfactio* was which belongs to true repentance, and how indulgences are related to it. (575) Accordingly he taught, that these pertain to the temporal penances which the priests can impose, and that the arrears of guilt will be expiated in purgatory. The pope can only release *quoad poenitentiam a se injunctam vel injungibilem*; but into the kingdom of God, man cannot come out of purgatory merely by the remission of penance, but only by internal *contritio* and purification and increase of holiness through the aid of divine grace; and in this view the pope cannot release by virtue of his power of the keys, but only through the impartation of the intercession of the whole Church; but how far we may feel certain that such intercession will be granted by God, Luther ventured no decision, although he believed that we might allege for the answer to such intercession, the promise pertaining to Christian prayer, and with reference to this allow that indulgences might be profitable in so far as the recipients of the same would guard themselves against false security.* (574) Thus† he discriminated with distinctness in repentance (1) the internal in the heart and from the heart, (2) the external, often only feigned, consisting in *confessio et satisfactio*, with regard to which we must distinguish between public and private. Luther refers the indulgences to private *satisfactio*, and yet immediately announces the apprehension that this might operate against real internal repentance and lead to its neglect. He farther acknowledges that he finds only the public *satisfactio*, and nowhere the private confession and satisfaction, extending through the whole life, taught and prescribed. In addition to this, Luther sought to counteract the evil of indulgences, by letters, which he addressed to the *Magnates ecclesiae*,—especially to the Bishop of Brandenburg, and the Archbishop of Mentz. With his letter to the latter he sent the 95 theses, with which the controversy with Tetzel was to be undertaken. He nailed these to the Court Chapel at Wittenberg on the 31st of October, 1517. He did not as yet intend to make such an attack upon the hierarchy of Rome as would lead to a separation. In sending the theses to the Archbishop he intimated that he might publish a controversial treatise. At present he did not wish these theses to be regarded as well-

* Serm. X Trin. Loescher I. 729.

† Serm. prid. dedicat. 1517. I. 734.

established propositions, but merely as furnishing preliminary subjects of discussion. The substance of them he had already taught in his sermons; the command of Jesus to repent, requires that the whole life should be one of penitence, and is not to be understood as consisting in priestly confession and absolution. With the repentance of the heart there must be united the outward crucifixion of the flesh. And thus in connection with this the *poena* will continue, until the believer enters into the kingdom of heaven. With reference to actual repentance the pope can give no remission, but only in regard to the appointed penance; for the pope's indulgence does not secure reconciliation with God; still less can it remove the guilt of the smallest daily sin. The pope can only remit sin in the sense of declaring on the part of God the remission of sin which follows genuine repentance. Such popish forgiveness, viz, the announcement of the terms of pardon, is not to be despised. But even without the remission of the pope, the Christian can obtain complete forgiveness through genuine compunction, on the ground of Christ's merits, and the good works of saints. Without the aid of the pope, we can obtain the inner grace of the heart and the external crucifixion of the old man. The real treasure of the Church is the Gospel of the grace of God; and this (not indulgences) is the highest grace entrusted to the pope. In this view God requires each one whose sins he forgives, to be subject to the priest as his own representative. Little as Luther would release Christians from the power and authority of the Church, he places these in their true relation to the chief end, viz, the attainment of grace, immediately from God. Hence he desires to express only the real opinion of the pope, who was ignorant of the abuse carried on. He also allowed a "sermon on pardon and grace" to be published, in which, as in a former discourse, he admonished his hearers against the use of indulgences, and that patient endurance and well-doing were much more profitable. It might seem remarkable that Luther does not give prominence in this place to the signification of faith already set forth by him. No doubt he includes in the "inner penitence," compunction and conversion. With reference to indulgences he did not take into consideration faith as an element in real inward repentance so much as the relation of indulgence to the "*satisfactio*;" and for the reality of repentance he looked to the life proceeding from it. What Luther uttered from sincere, independent and irresistible impulse was soon re-echoed

through all Germany, far beyond his anticipations and efforts. In fourteen days the theses had circulated through nearly all Germany, for all the world was complaining of indulgences; and while all the bishops and doctors were silent and afraid to assail the evil, Luther was looked upon as a doctor who should come and who would lay his hand to the work. How little he had examined critically the character and movements of the surrounding visible Church (although inwardly moved) may be perceived from the fact that with artless confidence he ventured to expect the pope to favor his exertions. But it was a higher trust that from the beginning gave him confidence and strength amid all the opposition and persecution of his enemies. The next occasion for advancing in this great enterprise was afforded by a convent of his order at Heidelberg, where he held a disputation on the 26th of April, 1518, in the presence of a great concourse of people and theologians, among whom were Bucer, Brentz, and Schnoepl. Hence he drew up "resolutions" or "*probationes*" of his 95 theses, which he transmitted to the pope. He was driven still farther by the assaults of his adversaries, Tetzl, Prierias the Dominican, the popish *Magister palatii*, and John Eck, the Chancellor of Ingolstadt, the most important among them. He replied to the first in his sermon on indulgences; to Eck in the *Asterisci ad abelisc. Eccii* and to Prierias in the *Respons. ad. Sylv. Prier. dial.* Hoogstraten who had advised the shortest way with heretics against him, was despatched with a brief *Scheda*. Luther saw himself branded as an unqualified heretic by all these. The efforts of the pope from the beginning aimed at the suppression of his doctrines as heretical, as did also the sentence pronounced on him by his appointed Judge. Luther was cited to Rome to answer to the charge. But Frederick, the Elector, was not willing to give up his esteemed Wittenberg Theologian without further security. And the pope valuing a good understanding with this exalted prince of the Empire more highly than the destruction of an insignificant monk, did not proceed to extremities. The Cardinal Cajetan was first sent as legate to Augsburg, Oct. 1518, to overcome him by a personal interview. There Luther appeared under a safe-conduct of the Emperor, without allowing himself to be frightened by warnings against the unfaithfulness of the foreigner. He presented himself as a most dutiful son of the Holy Romish Church, but stood forth fearless and bold against the plenary power of the papacy, unmoved by

threatening, planting himself on the word of God, and appealed "*a papa non bene informato ad melius informandum.*" The bull which was issued after this did not speak of him personally, but only against the dogma, disseminated "by some" concerning indulgences. Now Luther advanced to a decisive breach with the papacy by appealing, on the 28th of Nov. 1518, from the pope to a general Council. The course the controversy had taken, had in the meantime conducted Luther to a more full development of his entirely confined views; having been preached by him before, they now advanced to greater perspicuity, and with his opposition to the decisions of the Romish Church, they culminate in a full antagonism to the whole ecclesiastical system. Going back from the single point of contention concerning indulgences to the fundamental doctrine of the plan of salvation, generally the writings of Luther reiterate those fundamental propositions in reference to the sinfulness of all, even the best of human works. Justification by faith in Christ alone,—in reference to Christ, in so far as he through faith becomes ours, and as such works and teaches within us, and also fulfils within us the commandments of God, and makes those works of ours, though sinful in themselves, acceptable to God. Luminously does he now sum up his doctrine under the conception of the *justitia*; first a false *justitia* is the more legal one; secondly the true and proper *justitia* is twofold; (a) the *justitia* of Christ imparted in justification through faith: by virtue of which, the believer is in Christ viewed as righteous,—and there follows in him an *infusio*, viz, a communication* from Christ himself and his gifts; (b) the *justitia* of a righteous life, a consequence of that *just. Christi*, which cancels the actual transgressions as the *infusio* does original sin,—the latter subject to mutations, while the former is "substantial and eternal." And this doctrine of grace (though a result of the controversy concerning indulgences) is now established as the doctrine, in special reference to the keys and absolution—and so clearly established that our first attempts to comprehend the views that Luther so persistently held, render them perfectly perceptible and tangible. Prior to the man's enjoying absolution, the divine forgiveness takes place, for without it there cannot arise a desire to obtain the same; yet when God begins the work of justification—he first causes condemnation to be experienced—whereup-

* Loescher 2. 43-47. Heidel. Disp.

on in order that one may obtain peace, he directs him to the Church to seek it*—and although his own conscience be still restless, he should nevertheless confide in the judgment of another—that is, the priest; not indeed because of the power of the prelate or priest, but because of the word of Christ,† which cannot deceive. Hereby then is the transition from the Romish to the peculiarly Lutheran doctrine concerning absolution completed. This same absolution is to retain full objective force, that the alarmed conscience may rest in it. But the objectivity of absolution is no longer based upon a human judgment, but upon the word of Christ, in virtue of which it will take effect, even despite the levity and error of absolving priests (201—264) and furthermore it is not a human judgment which places the absolved person in possession of forgiveness, yet the actual impartation of this follows only in consequence of his faith. (198—263) Finally the pope,‡ entrusted with the keys, is not on that account to be revered like a tyrant, but to be viewed in the light of a servant and minister of Christians, given to them to be their consolation, and where he unjustly binds, i. e. refuses absolution, the believer is to fear no danger to himself. (265. 291.) The sermon on the sacrament of Penance expresses clearly and fully that, “the forgiveness of guilt does not rest in the power of any man, but only in the word of Christ and their own faith;” and with the same undoubting faith as this word is received from the mouth of the priest, should it also be received from the lips of a pious layman; for he also exercises, in this manner, the power to forgive sins; and from the priest it should be imparted where there has been confession and a desire of absolution, even where there is not the certainty of true sorrow and faith on the part of the confessing one. In this manner are we already conducted by Luther from the torturing process and judgment of auricular confession, to that ever, by him, commended confession, the principal benefit of which is the consoling absolution. In respect to the sacraments generally, Luther maintains the importance and necessity of faith, as the medium through which grace can be received, and without which they would tend more to our injury than edification. This was the principal point from which Cajetan sought in vain to remove him in Augsburg. In the attitude

* Compare 261—263. † John 20: 23.

‡ Resolution 7 theses. Loescher 1. 196.

assumed by Luther toward the power of the Church, and its external affairs generally, it appears that greatly as he desired to agree with the Church,* he would base his convictions upon no ecclesiastical authority whatever, but solely upon the Holy Scriptures. When it became necessary to maintain his views against the power and authority of the Church, he felt not the least hesitancy in defending his opinions, because of his conviction from the beginning, that notwithstanding his duty of humble submission to the pope, he dare not allow any papal sentence to contravene the teachings of God. Under the influence of these convictions the sphere of his unconditional subjection was narrowed down to the mere observance of external order, which he placed on a level with the duty of obedience to the civil authority as a divine institution. While on the one hand he aimed at limiting the prerogatives of the pope to the existing canons, and the decrees of the Councils called by him; on the other hand, he maintained, already against Prierias, that even a Council in which the Church is fully represented may err, and that the authors of the Holy Scriptures alone do not err. The question concerning the power of excommunication, must finally place his views of the relation between the Romish and any other human Church as well as the participation in salvation and the proper communion of believers, in the clearest light. Here he makes a broad distinction between the internal and spiritual communion of believers and the mere external and corporeal. From the former no creature except his own sins can exclude the Christian; and though the rod of excommunication should be received with reverence as a wholesome discipline, even when it is entrusted by the Church, our mother, to unworthy hands, and by them used in an unrighteous manner, because the person unrighteously excommunicated† might also be saved if he persevere in the truth, even under the operation of the ban. All this Luther had already openly proclaimed, even before he appealed to a Council. He could not therefore have made such an appeal, in the sense of intending to submit a conviction, resting upon the authority of the Scriptures, to the decision of a Council. He begins now to recognize in the pope himself the Antichrist, and he apprehends therefore with respect to the whole controversy and

* Loescher 2. 202. First Ed. 20. 182.

† Loescher 2. 200.—Loescher 2. 401. (390) Loescher 2. 376.

movement, that its initiation is not set on foot by himself, but by a higher and invisible power, of which he feels himself to be only the humble instrument. The desire of the pope to maintain friendly relations with the Elector, especially as the election of an Emperor was impending, led him to a last attempt to settle the dispute with Luther in a peaceable manner. The friendly expostulations of his chancellor K. von Miltitz, sent to the Elector, availed with Luther, at least so far, that he consented to remain silent, provided his enemies would do the same, and to write a humble letter to the pope expressing his reverence for the Romish Church.* But in this paper, while he acknowledged himself a believer in the worship of saints and in the doctrine of Purgatory, and even allowed the Indulgences,—he nevertheless boldly declared that he could not believe in the efficacy of Indulgences upon those in Purgatory;—that the commandments of God are higher than those of the Church;—and furthermore that the question concerning the power of the papal chair, had nothing to do whatever with the salvation of the soul.† That Christ had founded his Church, not upon external power or authority, nor upon temporal matters. Neither did Luther feel free to avoid a rekindling of the strife, when Eck, challenging his colleague Carlstadt to a disputation at Leipsic, directed his principle shafts against him, (Luther). The points which Luther was led to maintain during this disputation, were, in the main, not new. Yet before that time, they were not so clearly placed before the eyes of the world, and had therefore not created so deep a sensation. The direct design of Eck, at this time, while he sought to conduct the whole controversy to the deciding point concerning the papal primacy, was to place Luther formally before the world as an apostate from the Church of Rome. The chief proposition of Eck, at first was merely historical, viz: that the Romish Church, already before the time of Sylvester, held a supremacy over all others. But while Luther contested this proposition, by an appeal to the Scriptures, the Nicene Council and the history of the Church for 1100 years, he denied the *jus divinum* of the papal supremacy generally, little as he desired to dispute the rights of the present Pimate. Luther now maintained that the papal supremacy like every earthly power was derived from God alone. Yea, he placed

* January, 1519.

† Letters l. 193. 239., l. 193. Instructions, etc. Feb. 1519 24-1.

the duty of subjection to him upon an equal footing with the duty of subjection to every divine chastisement; for example, submission to the power of the Turks, in case God should order it. Against the papists, he referred the declaration which is their chief argument* to all disciples in whose name Peter had spoken; the keys were not given to any single individual but to the Church which is called the communion of saints; and that the priests were only the servants of the Church. In the course of the disputation, he declares that the Church is a monarchy whose head is not a man, but Christ himself.† Faith in the Roman Church as exalted above others is not essential to salvation; and no flatterer of the pope can exclude from heaven the multitude of saints of the Greek Church, who never lived under the power of the pope. On the contrary, the proposition of Huss, or rather that of Augustine, has full force, *una est sancta universalis ecclesia, quæ est prædestinatorum universitas*. Among the condemned propositions of Huss at Constance, there are some purely evangelical ones, like the one just mentioned.

To stop the movement, as Miltitz had hoped, after it had gained such publicity, could no longer be thought of; even though Luther should remain silent. His writings were most extensively circulated and read with an avidity, of which even our reading age can scarcely form a conception. Melancthon stood by Luther at Wittenberg since 1518. From all quarters, young and old students came flocking to this place to gather and then again scatter abroad the seed of life. It was the simple word which had such efficacy. The wise Elector of Saxony, as prince of the country, did the best thing in his power, by simply letting it take its own course, without taking part in the strife. In Germany, next to the theologians, the nobility took the deepest interest and delight in this new and bold manner of preaching. The crisis of their order, in the development of the empire and the relative condition of their respective countries, contributed materially also to render them excitable in ecclesiastical movements; a circumstance which on the other hand, through the admixture of foreign elements

* Matt. 16.

† Compare Seidemann *Leipsic Dis.* 1843, Loescher 3. 123. Letters 1. 206. Loescher 3. 125, *Leipsic Sermon* 15. 396. 65. 269. Loescher 3. 333.

might endanger the Reformation itself.* Luther saw his writings in 1519 already passing beyond Germany into France, England, and Italy. Luther is described at this time, as a man of powerful frame, although spare through cares and profound studies; having as a public speaker great fluency and wealth of language at command, as well as richness of matter; in social life, friendly and cheerful. The contentions, into which he was drawn against his will, had added to his naturally vigorous mind and fearless boldness, a reckless and immeasurably severe impetuosity, which he felt it his duty to calm, but he did not always succeed as he had hoped.† The living fountain, whence his eloquence flowed, gave his sermons and writings their peculiar power and efficacy. His thoughts and style had liberated themselves from the scholastic form of the 95 theses; and they met in an incomparable manner the theological and practical wants of the time. To the year 1519 belong the smaller commentary on the Galatians and the works on the Psalms, and to the beginning of the year 1520, the comprehensive sermon on good works, the leading thoughts of which are carried through into a rich developement of the doctrine of grace. Luther already found himself in communication with foreign lands. Letters were sent to him from Italy, and also a messenger from the Bohemian Hussites, among whom his influence had been operating since 1518. In regard to the further development of his doctrinal system, it happened as he says, *velim, nolim, cogor in dies eruditior fieri, tot tantisque magistris‡ certatim me urgentibus et exercentibus*. With regard to his mystical contemplation of the true, all-embracing communion in the work of salvation, as this is enjoyed by the believer with Christ and his gifts and with the Church, he unfolds, in the sermon on the holy sacrament, the signification of the Lord's Supper;—also that the believer should cast all his conflicts and cares upon the Church and Christ;—and on his part should sympathize with and assume the sufferings of the Church as his own. Marks of such communion, that is, our transformation into the spiritual body—the communion of Christ and the saints,—Luther styles the transformation of the bread into the true

* Loescher 3. 360. 357. 371.

† Letters 1. 418—“*in publico versari semper indignatus sum;*” “*canem irritare non debuerunt.*”

‡ Letters Vol. 1. 491. Gindely II. 162. 1857. Jen. II. 259.

natural body of Christ, concerning which body he says nothing farther. But he says, Christ himself regarded his natural body much less than his spiritual body, viz: the communion of his saints. Luther was accustomed already, as later also, simply and briefly to say of the Holy Supper, in accordance with the words of the institution, that Christ had therein appointed the forgiveness of sins.* In his farther contest with Rome, his declaration, in the introduction to the sermon, was important, viz: that the reception of both kinds in the Supper should be restored by a Council; although he did not regard this as formally commanded by Christ, and therefore thought the Bohemian schism was not justifiable. He regarded the Romish doctrine of seven sacraments, as a *fabulatio*, in as much as there was wanting an express divine command. Along side of the universal priesthood of believers, taught in the Scriptures, the priestly *ordo* had for him no significance; all that was peculiar in it appeared only ceremonial. Faith in Purgatory he pronounced unsafe. Of good works in the papal sense there need be no further thought as all works of faith are alike good. The external commandments of the Church are not binding, yet they may be useful to minors. The Lutheran doctrine of the Church resting only upon Christ offering himself to the believer, in the word and sacraments, was already fully set forth in the reply to an attack from the Franciscan, Alveld, at Leipsic. In opposition to the idea of an external Christendom with spiritual prerogatives and prelatical power, we have the only true and scriptural conception of the Church, composed of the congregation of believers, which has no need of Romish unity, but nevertheless has its visible characteristics, viz: Baptism, the Eucharist, and the Gospel.

The three principal productions of the year 1520 are of the highest importance as they cover the whole ground of the Reformation. The groundwork of a universal Reformation is contained in a writing addressed "To the Christian nobility of the German nation." For the first time Luther, depending upon his principles, commends to the Laity this work, required of God, though opposed by the pope and his clergy; for the laity are already priests, by virtue of their Baptism, although the exercise of the public functions of the priesthood would not be seemly as it should be confined to those who have been† set apart for the office. Luther pointed out

* 20. 230. † Sermon Sac. 57-25. 27-45.

‡ Letters 1. 367. 1. 369. Sermon on Good works. Papal Rome 27-85.

(addressing chiefly the civil authorities) not the dogmas assailed by himself, but those ecclesiastical abuses, many of which had before his time been the subjects of animadversion at their diets; and he extends his demand at the same time over the whole region of public morals, to the entire amelioration of the condition of society. He demands the reduction of the number of Cardinals, and the requirements of the papal Court, the abrogation of the Annates, &c., a recognition of the independence of the civil authority, and an exclusion of the arrogating of civil power by the pope, as for example, the assumption by him of the title of Sicilian King, the abrogation of the abuse practiced with the ban or excommunication, of the evils of pilgrimage, the scandal of the begging orders, and the many holidays, occasioning mischief and disorder. He further demanded an investigation of the nunneries, of begging, of luxury; the reformation of the universities; also liberty for the Clergy to contract marriage, a divine institution; a restoration of the Bohemians, with the admission that Huss, although heretical, was unrighteously burned. In reference to the Picards, he declares, that not the papal doctrine of transubstantiation, but only the real presence of the natural body of Christ in the natural bread should be the object of faith. Of transubstantiation he said, I have believed nothing because Wickliff first assailed the doctrine. It has been erroneously contended that Luther in his writings irregularly called upon the Christian Church, as a mixed multitude, to take measures for a reformation of the Church. He calls upon them* rather as a community subordinated to civil authority, and in the name of the people charges the civil power to use its authority to reform the Church. He abjures all external violence for the purpose of furthering the work. The principal points of controversy with regard to dogmas, are contained in *De captiv. Babylon.* i. e. the captivity under the pope; especially with regard to the sacraments; in reference to the Eucharist, against transubstantiation; against the mass; Baptism; justification in this sacrament only when faith is exercised; in opposition to the opinion, that those once fallen have lost the vessel and must lay hold of penance as a plank; against the fictitious value attached to vows; concerning repentance, —its nature discovered in the words of promise. Of sacraments, only three can be recognized, or more strictly only

* Loescher 2. 297. Comp. E. A. 20. 230. 247. Letters 5. 362.

two, viz: Baptism and the Holy Supper. In rejecting the sacrament of extreme unction, he appeals to the Sacred Scriptures. The fundamental doctrines of salvation and a holy life are finally set forth in a treatise, concerning the freedom of a Christian union with Christ, in which the believer becomes pious, just and happy by means of the word of faith. He describes the position of a Christian in this world, on the one hand free, as king and priest, exalted over all external things; on the other, giving himself up in love to serve his neighbors, and even in virtue of that same liberty, subjecting himself to external regulations when required by a tender regard to weaker brethren. At the request of Miltitz, Luther himself sent the above book to the pope, Oct. 1520, but instead of showing any disposition to yield, he now added to his former appeal to the Bible the declaration, *leges interpretandi verbum Dei non patior*, however assuring the pope that he had always wished him well. In August already it was rumored that Eck had arrived in Misnia with a bull of excommunication, which he really posted up in that place, on the 21st of Sept. Luther's letter to the pope, dated Sept. 6, could not restore peace. The bull was not to be executed for 120 days. This letter was Luther's last effort at peace. On the 12th of December he made the boldest declaration of war, by burning the bull and papal Decretals at Wittenberg. Luther's plan was to go forward with the conflict, as the truth required, relying entirely upon the power of God's word. Providence so overruled external circumstances that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were prevented from taking any violent measures against him. This appeared first in the relation sustained by the pope to the Elector Frederick, next in the political condition of the pope, and the disposition of the nobility of the Empire who had a number of ecclesiastical complaints in readiness. The Emperor dared not openly declare himself against the great opponent of the pope. And whenever he felt inclined to oppose the reformer, he was prevented by political considerations and difficulties. The extreme sentence of the Roman Church was passed upon Luther in the bull of excommunication, But the papal nuncio, Aleander, had to accede to the* wishes of the nobles that Luther should be cited before the Diet of Worms, with the guaranty of a safe-conduct. While this was under consideration Luther patiently

* Jen. II. 316. Letters 1. 497. 504. 510.

waited the result, ready to obey the summons of the Emperor, as a divine call. Meanwhile he was occupied in controversial writings against Emser who had attacked him as early as 1519, and again on account of his address to the Nobility, with a polemical treatise against the Dominican Ambrosius Catharinus, which is of importance on account of a new exposition of the idea of the Church as maintained against Alveld. His ardent personal wish would have been to be removed from all these conflicts and to devote himself to his studies. His comfort on his way to Worms was, that *Christ lives*. The disposition of the nobility of the Empire was certainly favorable to a Church reformer provided he would make the object of their wishes the main point, or at least accommodate his chief aim to the object. Many of the complaints against the secular encroachments of the Romish See corresponded with some passages in his address to the nobility. And the Diet was actually of opinion, that with regard to his attacks upon the external condition of the Church, he should be leniently dealt with, and that only in case of his continued obstinate opposition to the standard rules of faith would they consent to his proscription. But Luther would not entertain the idea for one moment, that for the sake of a coalition he should retract one step from what he always considered the vital question; and consequently he promptly and positively declined the invitation of Francis Von Sickingen to meet him and other learned men* in a previous consultation on the Ebernburg. It is true, when the Diet (April 17, 1521) proposed, as the first and last question, whether he would acknowledge his writings, and recant their contents, or persist in adhering to their doctrines, he requested time to consider. The next day he answered calmly and firmly, that he could recant neither those writings on Christian faith and practice, which were so simple and evangelical that even his opponents had to acknowledge it, nor those directed against the pope and the doctrines of the Romish Church, nor those written against private individuals, although the language used in these may sometimes be harsh. He said "Prove to me that I am in error and I am ready to recant." He was told, that since the Council of Constance had already condemned some of his doctrines, the matter at issue was not a dispute but simply a recantation on his side. Then he gave that *unstüssige und unbeissige* answer, "*nisi convictus fuero*

* Enc. 3. 783. Letters 1. 564. 586. Ranke. Gesch. Zeit. Ref. II. 4.

testimoniis scripturarum aut ratione evidente;" ("nam neque Papae neque conciliis solis credo, cum constet eos errasse saepius et sibi ipsis contradixisse,") victus sum Scripturis a me adductis captaque est conscientia in verbis Dei, revocare neque possum neque volo quidquam, cum contra conscientiam agere neque tutum sit neque integrum. Here I stand, I cannot otherwise; God help me, Amen." Several fruitless attempts were yet made to secure a meeting of Luther and the Archbishop of Treves. He firmly adhered to a proposition condemned by the Council, concerning the Church, viz, *Ecclesia universalis,* quae est numerus praedestinatorum.*" When the Elector of Brandenburg asked him, whether it was true that he would not yield unless convinced by the Sacred Scriptures, he answered, Yes;—*vel rationibus clarissimis et evidentibus.* May 25th the excommunication was rigorously enforced against Luther, the necessary signatures of the members of the Diet having been in some way obtained.† Luther who left Worms on the 26th, was secretly conveyed, although not without his previous knowledge, to the Castle of Wartburg, by order of the Elector. There Luther lived under the title of Knight George.

Luther's residence at Wartburg conducts us to the second part of the work of Reformation, the time for building up, in contradistinction to tearing down which he had done during the first period. He now laid the foundation on which the structure was to be reared. Now arose another struggle, viz, with those who pretended to start from the same evangelical position with him, but who fell into another error, in attempting a new reform, either impossible or tending to injure his work. Remote from all external activity, his residence in his quiet "ἔρημος" or *Patmos* as he called it, was of great importance to Luther, in the culture of his spiritual character, and the development of his theological system. The translation of the Bible, commenced at Wartburg, was the principal work in laying the foundation for the noble structure of the reformation. The first part of his "Postilla" as well as several smaller writings were issued from Wartburg. The first steps toward bringing about ecclesiastical reforms had been taken without Luther's assistance. The right of marriage which he claimed for the clergy was practically

* E. A. 64. 367. Jena II. 414. E. A. 64. 374. 64. 382. 64. 383.

† Compare Ranke.

exercised by several of the priests of Saxony. His coadjutors (not only Carlstadt, but Melancthon also) went so far as to assail the validity of monastic vows. Luther himself hesitated. He reminds them, that these vows are voluntary acts; rejects all insufficient proofs, but finds the decisive argument in the motive from which they proceed, viz, *animo salutis aut justitiæ quaerendæ per votum*. On this account they are to him *impia, sacrilega*. He expressed his views in a publication, in which the principal ground assumed, is the same, viz, that they are sins against the first commandment. The Augustinians at Wittenberg with the sanction of the University, commenced changes in worship, especially the abolition of the Mass. Luther admonished them to ascertain whether they were certainly right, and proposed that they should plant themselves more fully on the word of God. He wrote concerning the "abuse of the Mass;" that the living spiritual sacrifices of Christians are the true offerings, and the sacrifice of the Mass is idolatry. Early in December, 1521, the zeal for reform became tumultuous in Wittenberg. And at the end of the month, there came three men from Zwickau, who, as the pretended bearers and champions of the pure evangelical spirit, boasted higher and direct revelations, rejected infant baptism, since faith only could save, predicted the destruction of the whole community of the wicked, and proclaimed the founding of a new and holy generation. They manifested a disposition to rebel against established authorities. Carlstadt was seized with their spirit, and Melancthon was greatly moved by the impression made upon him; at first and even afterwards he was vacillating in his counsel concerning them. Then Luther appeared upon the field and combatted powerfully these errors. He asserted that all Church members are priests, and that the arbitrary public teaching of an individual, in opposition to the Church, is an objectionable presumption. The chief burden of resisting these fanatics rested upon Luther. He affirmed the necessity of a regular call to the ministry. God never sent a man without calling him by men or through the testimony of the congregation of believers. Such proof he required of these men. As regards their rejection of infant baptism, he already maintains that the faith of others does not directly take the place of that of the children; but that such children may receive faith through the intercession of others; and that children ought to be baptized.* On this

* Letters I. 124. 128.

ground he contends, first, on account of the general ecclesiastical consensus, and then on the ground of the Savior's declaration, Matt. 19. The disorder and violence which threatened to grow out of well-meaning and useful reforms, induced him to publish instructions on the duty of obedience, on the condition of external order and the limits of government. Civil government which he desired to be separated from ecclesiastical authority and guardianship, he considered as not merely resting on the will of man, but as an institution based upon higher authority. From Wartburg he enlightened the mind of Melancthon, who was in doubt on this point, by comparing the right of the sword with the right of matrimony, based on Romans 13, and 1. Peter 3. Afterward, he published "a faithful admonition to all Christians to be on their guard against sedition." Rebellion is always an evil, however just the cause may be. Government ought to prohibit evil with moral suasion, and see to it, that nothing be done against the Gospel. When this justice is denied the individual there is nothing left but for him to submit, as to a spiritual discipline, to pray and to wield the armor of God's word. Finally in carrying forward a reform, nothing should be done against love; and Christians should rather cease from the attempt than give offense to the weak, or endeavor to produce faith by force.*

This was the light from Wartburg that illumined fundamental questions of the Reformation. Luther could not rest till he faced the new danger. In recent events he beheld the precursors of a great rebellion in German countries. He left his place of refuge and wrote to the Elector to have no concern for him: that the Elector was under no obligation to deliver him; and if taken he should leave the gate open; he knew himself under a higher protection. "Yea," he said, "I could protect your Highness rather than you could protect me." He arrived at Wittenberg in March of that year and at once began to preach on the Sunday Reminiscere, and delivered eight sermons on Love, Law and Order. The Zwickau prophets left the city after an interview with Luther, who found them stubborn, and in vain requested them to prove their mission by miracles. In Erfurt and Zwickau Luther was likewise active in preaching against sedition. The people of the former place induced him to make known

* Letters 1. 202. Comp. E. A. 28. 416. Letters 2. 23. E. A. 22. 43. Corp. Ref. 1. 465. Letters 2. 119. 6. 635. 2. 145.

his views as to the worship of saints. It is significant as to the progressive development of his spiritual life and doctrines, that he could not distinctly remember the time when he ceased to call upon saints. He maintained, that as faith in Christ Jesus, renders the invocation of saints superfluous, the latter must itself fall into disuse, and therefore need not be publicly opposed. The people should be pointed simply to Christ. Such changes in worship as seemed necessary, were gradually introduced, appealing at the same time to the government, which as a part of the Christian community, should coincide with the word of truth, and guard the flock of Christ.* Thus should the reform be carried into effect by the government which alone is competent to change external institutions. The next question was, what position should the government occupy in a new ecclesiastical arrangement? What should be confined to the proper organs of the Church? How far should the body of the Church-members, as a universal priesthood, take an active part in the transaction of public affairs? First, the abuses of the mass were abolished. Those who had hitherto been priests were exhorted either to return to preaching the Gospel, or give place to others. A new and comprehensive constitution was adopted for a congregation in the small town Leisnig, 1523. The Council and inhabitants resolved to use their Christian liberty in filling the pastoral office, in accordance with the Sacred Scriptures; that every one should exercise authority over his own household, and if indolence should be manifest, to bring the remiss ones into the right way with the assistance of the congregation and government; that to meet the wants of the ministry, the school and the poor, there should be a common treasury under the supervision of ten guardians, elected by the Council, the citizens and the farmers; that three annual meetings of the whole congregation be held, to take these matters into consideration.† Luther sanctioned this arrangement, while a similar plan, drawn up by Carlstadt for Wittenberg was at once rejected† because in it Carlstadt denounced images or pictures, and claimed the money used for the support of the Mechanic arts. The prohibition of his writings by George, Duke of Saxony, induced Luther to publish his "Treatise on Civil Government:

* E. A. 28. 202. Letters I. 179.

† Seckend. Hist. Luth. I. 237. E. A. 22. 105. Richter. E. Kirch. Ord.

to what extent obedience is due to it." Here again he gives prominence to the divine authority of the Civil government, and condemns all rebellion against the powers that be. If the authorities demand the giving up of Evangelical books, one should not obey the unrighteous demand, but suffer the penalty. On the other hand he reminds the government, that it has no right to dictate laws to the soul; its rights extend only to the body and property. While he condemns all attempts at compelling the conscience, he repeats what he had before said against the Papists with regard to Reformers. He met the objection, that the secular power intended merely to guard against the introduction of false doctrines, with the opinion that this should be left to the Bishop and the word of God. He afterwards changed his opinion as to the protection of Evangelical doctrines by external authority.

He watched with deepest interest, the introduction of a pure Gospel into other countries. He celebrated the death of the two martyrs in Brussels; and also that of Heinrich von Zütphen. He exhorted the brethren in Riga, Reval and Dorpat. To the Duke of Savoy, of whose love of true religion he had heard, he recommended the pure word of God, and hoped he might kindle a fire there, before which all France would be as a stubble-field. His relation to the Bohemians was especially important, among whom his friend, Paul Speratus of Iglau exercised considerable influence. The intercourse with these Bohemian brethren was commenced in consequence of questions regarding the Lord's Supper, which Speratus laid before Luther. These questions became important as it* was now to be decided whether Luther while rejecting transubstantiation, would strictly adhere to the real presence of the body, which he did, and hoped to find the brethren holding the same view. He left the services connected with the Sacrament optional. When the leader of these brethren, Senior Lucas sent messengers and letters to Luther, he (Luther) wrote for them the Tract, on "The adoration of the host," which was his first declaration against the denial of the real presence, and corporeal reception, although they to whom he wrote believed in a "real," i. e. "a spiritual," "sacramental" participation of the body of Christ who sitteth at the right hand of God. He added several other reflections, especially the inquiry, whether they did not think too much of works and too little of

* Letters II. 379. Letters 6. 33. 2. 208. 2. 217.

faith. Upon the whole, however, he expressed a very friendly feeling for them. More could have been done if the Utraquists had connected themselves more closely with Luther. In 1522 he wrote to the Bohemian Provincial Council, exhorting them to persevere in their resistance to Rome. The next year he sent a Tract "*De instituendis ministris*" to the Council and citizens of Prague by Gallus Cahera, who had spent several months at Wittenberg, and who was at once elected Administrator by the Utraquist Council. This little book contains Luther's most important views on the privileges of the Church, and even of an individual congregation, viz, that in case the old ecclesiastical power, should refuse them the Gospel, they may on the ground of their universal Priesthood supply themselves with new preachers of the word.* After several cities shall thus have elected their own Bishops, or Elders, they may then elect their own Superiors and Superintendents until all Bohemians shall have a legitimate and evangelical Episcopacy. But soon after a great change took place in the position of the Bohemian Council. They with Cahera, as the leader sought reconciliation with the pope. We hear of no farther intercourse between them and Luther. * * * * *

ARTICLE III.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

By PROF. L. STERNBERG, A. M., Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.

THE religious exercises appropriate to and which constitute the Public Worship of God are *praise, prayer, and the reading and expounding of the Sacred Scriptures*, applying their principles to the hearts and consciences of the hearers. We propose in this paper, briefly to consider the *importance* of maintaining Public Worship, and to throw out some suggestions as to its mode with especial reference to the existing state of things, on this subject, in the Lutheran Church in this country.

* E. A. 28. 589. Letters 2. 430.

Every man exists as a separate intelligence, accountable to the God that made him, and hence the highest act of worship, fraught with the richest promised blessings, is that which is performed in the privacy of the closet, where the soul is alone with the Great Father of its being. He that sees the sincere worshipper thus in secret, will reward him openly. Nor should those repine who, under the ordination of Providence, are precluded from the privilege of public worship. Wherever the spirit exults in sacred praise, or bows in humble prayer, be it in the arid desert, or on the wide waste of waters; be it on the sick-bed, in the dungeon, or at the stake, there is a temple of worship, not built by hands, filled with the radiance of the divine *Shekinah*.

But men are not, like angels, created separately. Their being is derived through those that have gone before them. Hence their relations to each other are most intimate, and they are endowed with a social nature adapted to these relations. If angels in heaven raise their songs of praise in concert, though they have no connection with each other, save what results from their common relationship to God, we may well infer that, in addition to their private devotions, men would consult their social nature in their worship and unite in paying homage to their Maker. Indeed the Sacred Scriptures seem to take it for granted that men will understand their duty in this respect, without any very specific instructions and reiterated injunctions. As they tell us to "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," so they enjoin upon us "Not to neglect the assembling of ourselves together" and pass on, as though on points so plain it were even superfluous to dilate.

Were the duty and importance of public worship not perfectly obvious in view of the social nature of man, the *example* of those, in all ages, whom it becomes us to imitate, should remove the last lingering doubt on this subject. In patriarchal times household worship was practiced. The head of the family was its priest. Nor was it designed that this should be superseded by any public service subsequently instituted. In these last days no less than in patriarchal times the family is recognized as a religious body, a church in the house, as is evinced by the family baptisms, administered by apostles and evangelists.

The first religious services of a more public nature, instituted among the Jews were those of the tabernacle during their wanderings in the wilderness. Then followed, in the reign

of Solomon, those of the temple. And yet the pious felt the need of something more. Hence, after the Babylonish captivity, synagogue worship was instituted. Throughout the land synagogues were erected in city and village, in which the people assembled on the Sabbath to listen to the reading of the law and the expositions and exhortations of those, who might have the gifts to teach.

The first Christians gradually abandoned the temple worship as unsuitable to the new order of things and adopted that of the synagogue with such modifications as circumstances seemed to require; though there is no evidence that a set form of conducting divine service was at first introduced and universally observed. The Apostle's allusion to custom, as existing in the Church, does not imply thus much. The persecutions which the primitive Christian suffered, the legal disabilities under which they labored, the paucity of their numbers in most places, and their extreme poverty prevented the erection of churches for their accommodation for two centuries. But though they possessed no churches, in which to assemble for public worship, yet such was their sense of its importance that they met to discharge this solemn duty on the first day of the week, the Christian Sabbath, in private houses, in open fields, in solitary deserts, and in sheltering caves.

In the third century several of the Roman Emperors permitted the Christians to erect churches for their use. So zealously did they avail themselves of this privilege that, at the commencement of the fourth century, upwards of forty churches had been built in the city of Rome. At this time the Emperor Dioclesian ordered all the churches in his empire to be razed. This however did not prevent the followers of Christ from engaging in the public worship of God. Under Constantine the demolished churches were rebuilt and such, as had been closed, were re-opened. The emperor Justinian, in the sixth century, made the building of churches the great business of his life. He erected the magnificent church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, at an expense of \$5,000,000. Such was its splendor that, at its dedication (a practice introduced by Constantine) he exclaimed, "I have surpassed thee, O Solomon!"

During the persecutions of the Puritans in England and of the Covenanters in Scotland, those that had been driven from their churches met for the worship of God wherever and whenever they might hope that the blood-hounds of royal tyranny and priestly hate were not on their trail. And many

died a martyr's death because the public worship of God was dearer to them than life. Nor, when we have seen thousands meet to perform their devotions and to hear the word of the Lord under the open canopy of heaven, amid the frosts and snows of winter; when some are wandering in banishment and others are languishing in dungeons for participating in such services, men of whom the world is not worthy, can we conclude that our own age sets a lower estimate upon the public worship of God than did those that have gone before.

No man of the least discernment can fail to perceive the great *temporal advantages*, connected with the faithful observance of Public Worship. Compared with these the cost of maintaining it is trifling. Indeed were the expenses connected with it even increased fourfold, no community could afford to dispense with it. No other agency is so efficient in inculcating those principles and in forming those habits which constitute the only firm basis of free institutions and a stable government, which produce general thrift, insure public order, and secure the benedictions of a beneficent Providence. Public worship improves the morals of a community, promotes good neighborhood, maintains order and affection in families, cultivates the intellect, subdues the passions, enlarges the views, expands the heart, polishes the manners and refines the taste. Where it is neglected, men gradually lose the amenities of social life and sink down into stupid ignorance, reckless dissipation and shameless vice. A God-worshipping people may be persecuted, but they cannot be destroyed; they may be down-trodden, but they cannot be crushed; they may be scattered to the four winds, but wherever they touch the soil they will strike root and put forth a vigorous growth.

But Public Worship is fraught with benefits far greater than these—benefits of a *spiritual nature* to be enjoyed not merely during our brief sojourn on earth, but that will attend us throughout eternity. The exercises of public worship are the divinely appointed means of grace and salvation. "Faith cometh by hearing." By "the foolishness of preaching" God has determined to save them that believe. Christ has promised to be peculiarly present with his people when they meet together for his worship. There it is that he makes them sit down by companies and feeds them with the bread of life. It is true we may encounter sanctifying and saving influences whithersoever we go, but they abound in

the sanctuary. There is no place where the lame will more likely be enabled to walk and to leap for joy than when found sitting at "the beautiful gate of the temple." To be "in the spirit on the Lord's day" and thus to visit God's earthly courts is to gain the vestibule of heaven's great temple and obtain ravishing glimpses of the transcendent glories, revealed within. Few that have "washed their robes and made them white with the blood of the Lamb" would now swell the blood-washed throng in heaven, had they not mingled with the assemblies of the saints on earth.

There is, indeed, no peculiar sanctity in a consecrated temple. The sea-side, or the mountain top is as near heaven. The sanctity is in the congregation of devout worshippers, among whom the divine spirit manifests his presence in exerting his sanctifying and saving power. To sit among them is to sit where Jesus is wont to pass and where many a blind Bartimeus has had his eyes opened. No man may therefore innocently, or safely neglect the public worship of God. His relations to his Maker and to the Church cannot be such as to absolve him from this duty. He cannot reach a point of nearness to God, or of departure from Him where it ceases to be an unspeakable privilege of which he will not fail to avail himself if he have any proper appreciation of the value of his soul. What is due, in this regard, to his own soul is equally due to the souls of those committed to his charge—to all in any manner under his control. Especially should parents see that their children attend upon the services of God's house. The habit, early formed, will prove to them of greater benefit in after life than an inheritance of broad acres or productive stocks.

It is obvious that the *mode* of conducting Public Worship is a matter of some importance though the fact that no particular form is prescribed in the New Testament leaves us to infer that its essential benefits can be secured under a variety of outward forms provided only that the word of God be faithfully preached and that the sacraments be duly administered. There were doubtless slight diversities in the form of service in the churches, founded by the apostles; and in the same church it may not have been considered important to maintain strict uniformity in this respect under all circumstances and on all occasions. These diversities have, however, in these latter days grown into broad and characteristic differences. While slight variations in the form of religious services may not interfere with their efficiency, it is clear that

they must be confined within certain limits, beyond which the inappropriateness of the outward form will prevent the means of grace from being attended with saving power.

As already observed the primitive Christians modeled their religious services after the synagogue worship. They conducted them in the simplest manner without a liturgy and clerical vestments. They consisted in the singing of Psalms, prayer, reading the Scriptures, preaching and exhortation. Indeed a more formal service would have interfered materially with the free exercise of those gifts, *zapicquata*, with which they were so richly endowed. But gradually the idea of a Christian priesthood and a temple service similar, in some respects, to that existing under the former dispensation began to pervade the Church. Hence splendid temples were erected, well-adapted to the performance of pompous ceremonies, but ill suited, as audience chambers, in which to hear the word of God preached. To such an extent had an imposing ritual frozen the very life-blood of the Church—so tortuous and obstructed a channel did it afford for the warm aspirations of a renovated Christianity—so thoroughly was it pervaded in its spirit by the false doctrines of the papacy that, when the Reformation burst upon the world, like the sun from behind a mass of threatening clouds, the Reformers with one accord determined to effect important changes in the ritual of the Worship. Luther consented to retain those customs which were not sinful or associated with error in doctrine. Zwingle and Calvin strove to re-introduce that perfect simplicity in the form of worship, which characterized the services of the primitive Christians.

While it cannot be wrong to worship God in the simple forms of the early Church, yet there may in this respect be development and growth, adapting the services of the Church more fully, it may be, to particular ages and countries. The same spirit exhibits great diversities of outward manifestation. As already intimated the New Testament does not prescribe any particular form of public worship. There is therefore room for such inquiries as these, What form of divine service is best adapted to the end for which Public Worship has been instituted? What form is best adapted to any particular age or country? In how far is uniformity important and its attainment in the Lutheran Church in this country practicable?

Here, at the outset, we may be met by the broad assertion that the Lutheran Church has a definite and fixed form

of public worship, from which none of her children are at liberty to depart and to which all should at once return. The fact, however, that diversities, in this respect, have existed among Lutherans from the time of the Reformation and that the Reformers themselves distinctly taught that unity in outward forms is not essential to the unity of the Church is fatal to any such assumption. There is indeed such a thing as historical development. We may not lightly snap the cords that bind us to the past. Tradition has its claims, but if these are under all circumstances imperative, then the establishment of the free government, under which we live, was a grievous wrong. When we reflect that the development of the Church after the apostolic age, through priestly pride and ambition, was in the direction of a pompous ceremonial, an excessive ritualism; and that, at the Reformation, in view of established custom and in consideration of human infirmity, much was retained, that would probably not have been established *de novo*, we must conclude that modification in the forms of Public Worship are admissible, especially when they bring us nearer to primitive simplicity. Such modifications our Church in this Country has undergone. They may be reprobated as the result of a weak yielding to the undue influence of surrounding denominations. They are rather the legitimate out-growth of the age, in which we live; of the free institutions under which the Church finds full scope to develop herself; and more than all, of the increased spirituality, under precious revival influences, that has pervaded our Zion. Under the modifying power of our republican simplicity even legal forms, so fixed, so precise, so cumbersome are becoming simplified. Lawyers have laid aside their gowns and wigs. In our cities, the centers of wealth and fashion, and characterized by great formality in social intercourse, the fixed imposing ritual of the Episcopal Church doubtless possesses great attractions for many, but it must be evident that, with machinery so unwieldy, it can never operate with success in rural districts. To the Lutheran Church in this highly favored land God has given more especially the country to cultivate. Let her not stand in the midst of this rich field a fossilized monument of antiquity. Let her address herself to the great work before her, rather than expend her energies in consolidating herself, as an exclusive, illiberal sect. A large infusion of sectarian bigotry supplanting the liberal principles, that have hitherto characterized her, may enable her to hold those that may remain

within her pale, as with a death grasp, but it will not enable her to enter in and possess the land; to gather in her scattered children; and to make the "desert rejoice and blossom as the rose." A true and ardent church love is not awakened by mere outward rites and ceremonies, but by the consciousness that the Church in her economy and ministrations fully meets our spiritual wants. The affection of living members for a living church, in which they have had their spiritual birth and have been fed with the sincere milk of the word, is imperishable. Distance cannot impair; time cannot change it. On behalf of the Church of our love sacrifices are counted as nothing. We esteem it a privilege to wear out in her service.

The present, though it may have a development peculiar to itself, is yet the child of the past. Its relations to the immediate past are more intimate than to more remote antiquity. When, in this aspect, we inquire into the character of the Lutheran Church in this country in respect to forms of Worship, remembering that the past within our own recollection, as well as that beyond it, is history, that we are daily enacting history, we must come to the conclusion that she is moderately liturgical. The use of Liturgical forms, indeed, is not and never can be made obligatory upon her ministers. Yet these, as contained in the Hymn Book of the New York Synod, or in that of the General Synod, have heretofore commended themselves to general acceptance. It is to be apprehended that the recommendation of Liturgical forms much more extended, involving a marked change in the mode of conducting Worship, will but create greater diversity in our Sabbath services than are found at present to exist, as it is manifest that they would not be generally introduced.

Nor should what are technically called "altar services" ever be allowed to encroach upon those of the pulpit. The chief part of Public Worship is the preaching of the gospel. To this place it is exalted by the Saviour and his apostles. The great duty of the ministry is to preach Christ and him crucified. The apostle Paul tells us that Christ sent him "not to baptize but to preach the Gospel." The Reformation restored preaching to its prominent place in the services of the sanctuary. The "dim religious light" diffused through a splendid Gothic temple; the swelling notes of the organ, rolling along the fretted ceiling; and the pompous ceremonial enacted by robed priests at the altar may awaken feel-

ings of the deepest reverence and devotion in one whose nature is highly æsthetic, but they may be the evanescent emotions of an unsanctified, unsubdued heart. True devotion flows from a heart that has been struck, as was the rock by Moses' rod, and has been broken by the hammer of the divine word.

If it be objected, that preaching is not Worship, so neither is the reading of a Scripture lesson, nor prayer in this restricted sense of the term. Only adoration and praise could come under the designation. But this is a Jewish conception, as expressed in the temple service, according to which the worshipper performs an act grateful to God. The broader Christian idea of Worship is that we appear in the presence of our God and Saviour not to propitiate his favor, of which we are already assured by the death of Christ, but to secure his blessing, not merely to praise and adore him, but chiefly to seek our own edification in the use of the appointed means of grace. That is the most acceptable Worship of God which tends best to fit us for his service in the manifold activities of the Christian life. If these views are correct, it is manifestly an abuse to occupy so much of the time of Public Worship with Liturgical and other service, that the wearied hearers, at last, become impatient under a sermon of ten or fifteen minutes and retire without any distinct impression of the truths it may have been intended to convey. They may, however, imagine that, though unedified themselves, they have been doing God a service, on account of which He will deal gently with them.

ARTICLE IV.

PHILIP JACOB SPENER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. A. THOLUCK.*

By PROF. F. A. MUHLENBERG, A. M., Gettysburg, Pa.

THOUGH it might be an error of judgment, to place Luther as the Reformer of the *doctrines*, in contrast with Spener as

* It is proper to state, that the Translator omitted some paragraphs contained in the original Article, as well as all the foot-notes, and the references to the authorities.

the Reformer of the *life* of the Church—a position indeed which Spener himself, the most prudent among the prudent, was the furthest from claiming—yet we will not say too much, by designating him as the purest and most upright, among the distinguished characters of the Lutheran Church, and one of the most favored instruments of God in the Seventeenth century.

He was born in the year 1635, in the town of Rappoltsweiler, in the earldom of Rappoltstein, in Upper Alsace, where his father was first, private tutor to the count, and subsequently a member of his council. His father, however, as well as the family of his mother came from Strasburg, and as Spener himself preferred to acknowledge his indebtedness to that city for his education, he usually considered himself a *Strasburger*. He is justly regarded as belonging to that class, who have preserved, unimpaired from childhood, their baptismal grace; and, by uninterrupted internal development, continually made deeper progress in the life of faith. Even as a boy, serious, quiet, and diffident, he could furnish only this, in proof of his having also been "bad" in his youth, that on one occasion during his twelfth year, he had allowed himself to be tempted to attend a dance. Reared in the midst of pious examples in his own family, he acknowledges that he was under special obligations to a widowed countess of Rappoltstein, his god-mother, for the life and growth of his piety. The serious impressions made on his mind by her death-bed, awakened, in the boy of thirteen years, "the desire to depart with her from this world, and correspondent efforts, for a season, to extort his own dissolution from God, by means of prayer." In addition to these, he derived spiritual nourishment, as was generally the case with the pious at that time, from Arndt's *True Christianity*, by which he acknowledges "that he was preserved from the wisdom of the schools." Many religious books of the Reformed Church likewise, especially those of the English Church, as Southom's "*Golden Jewel*," Baile's *Praxis Pietatis*, Dyke's "*Self-Deception*," were read at that time on the Rhine, both by Lutherans and Reformed, and he acknowledges that he was much indebted, in his youth, both to these and also the writings of Baxter. His special instruction in religion and his preparatory training for the University he received from a man, whom in his spirit we may regard as one of the pioneers of the age of Spener, his subsequent brother-in-law, Joachim Stoll, from 1645 chaplain to

the count of Rappoltstein. "To him under God am I indebted," says Spener, "for the first sparks of genuine Christianity, and proper motives in study; for encouragement and suitable advice, with reference to the improvement of the public discourses of God's house, for he taught me to confine myself closely to the text, and thence to learn the doctrines of the Christian religion." To the catechization of this excellent man, he ascribes a powerful and lasting impression on his mind. In opposition to the homiletical errors of the time, that individual insisted on this, that the sermons, instead of displaying the arts of Rhetoric, should plainly exhibit fundamental truths; that polemics should be left to the scholars of the University; and that it should be the main object to introduce the word of God into the houses and the hearts of men. His practical good sense was also manifested, among other things, by the method he proposed, to furnish the congregation with the word of God, when the price of Bibles was exceedingly high, viz, by the publication of separate portions of the Sacred Scriptures, as for instance, the Psalms and Gospels.

Thus privately trained, the pious youth removes to the University of Strasburg in the year 1651, in his sixteenth year, where he boarded and lodged with his uncle, Mr. Rebhan. He lived in Strasburg as student, in a quiet and retired manner, attentive only to his studies. When he was charged in Saxony with having been always of an eccentric and obstinate disposition, he replied: "As far as singularity is concerned, I hope no one can say to my discredit, that I was unwilling to participate in the usual, though at Strasburg less practiced, disorderly life of students, that I was there only for the purpose of study. Therefore I had nothing to do with dancing, fencing, drinking, etiquette, dress or quarrels; in which I hope still more to have been in the possession of my senses." His theological teachers, besides Dorsche, who left Strasburg in 1653, were Dannhauer, John Schmid, Sebastian Schmid. Spener was in the habit of speaking of the first of these, a practical zealous theologian of the strictest Lutheran school, as his *Præceptor*, with gratitude for his careful instruction in the doctrines of the pure Lutheran faith; of the last, as the most distinguished exegete of his day; of John Schmid, however, that eminently worthy and Christian man, as his "Father in Christ." Besides these theological teachers, he became interested in the study of history, through the agency of the then universally renowned

Bücler, which he prosecuted subsequently to a greater extent, in his works upon heraldry. From 1654-1656, he had the direction of the sons of his subsequent ruler Count Palatine Christian II. of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, during which period, as he says, he lived more *in exoticis* than in *theologicis*.

In accordance with the custom of that period, a *peregrinatio academica* concluded the course of studies, and with the intention of visiting France, Spener betook himself about the year 1659 to Basel, where he devoted himself to the study of the Hebrew, under the younger Buxtorf, the oracle at that time for the Hebrew. As he had been advised by his instructors to remain in Geneva, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the French language, he went thither from Basel, and remained there a whole year, having been prevented from prosecuting his journey into France, by a protracted sickness. His residence in Geneva was of service to the young Lutheran theologian, not less for the enlargement of his theological horizon, than also for still higher and more varied Christian edification. In one of the letters written by him from this place, he speaks with admiration of the constitution of the Genevan Church, so free from the trammels of the papal hierarchy, as well as of the piety and culture of the Reformed pastors; and he was made acquainted by his host, the former Waldensian pastor Leger, with the early history of the Reformed church, and thus made to feel a more active and Christian interest in its welfare. He himself expresses this opinion, that the church influences there are such as very easily to mislead one who is not firmly attached to the Confession of his own Church. Spener had frequent opportunities also of hearing Labadie preach, for he was staying at that time in Geneva, and he manifested subsequently the interest this zealous preacher of apostolical Christianity had awakened in him, by editing in a German translation his *manual de priere*.

After his return from Geneva in 1661, other German Universities were to be visited, and Spener undertook a journey to Würtemberg, as companion to the young Count of Rapoltstein, during which, occupying a period of five months, he was partly at the Court of Stuttgart, partly at Tübingen, in the latter place staying with the Christian theologian *Raith*, with whom he had a friendly interchange of views with reference to the trying circumstances of the Evangelical church. Our pious, prudent and well-educated young

man of twenty-seven years, secured the affections of all in Württemberg, both at the Court and at the University, so that the Duke even then thought of giving him an appointment as Professor in Württemberg, when he was recalled in 1663 to Strasburg to take charge of a parish. This appointment indeed occasioned difficulty after his return; however one of the two sinecure pastorships was assigned to him, in which he had sufficient leisure to devote himself as Magister to historical and philosophical Lectures, but as these were wont to be occupied by Professors or expectants of a Professorship, he was compelled to obtain the degree of a Doctor.

However soon afterwards he received a call to Frankfort on the Mayn, as pastor and Senior. Even on the occasion of this first change of situation, he followed the custom, prevalent among the pious clergymen of that century, not to make a decision, merely in accordance with his own views of duty, but to request the advice of the civil rulers to whom he was subject, as well as the theological Faculty. The thought which awakened anxious concern in the mind of this prudent young man was this, that he was going to assume the presidency, at the age of only 31 years, of a number of older clergymen. After having his doubts satisfied on this point, by his own superiors, he entered upon his new office. Entertaining, as he did, the serious views of the church and her official duties, which he had brought with him from his native Strasburg, which was distinguished even during the wars, by strict churchly discipline and order, his task in the imperial city, which had already in part become secularized, and was also suffering from the neglect due to the wars and their effects, must have appeared to him almost hopeless. To be a Lutheran Christian and a member of the church, without occupying a personal relation with the pastor in his official capacity, by means of confession and the sacrament appeared to him an intolerable thought. In his representations to the Senate, he describes it as an unheard of condition, that there were not only persons found in the parish, who absented themselves altogether from the sacrament, but also many *who were even altogether unknown to him by name*. We do not learn, that he had among his associates, zealous co-workers in his plans, yet he mentions among them a former pupil of the enthusiastic Grossgebauer in Rostock, Emmel; and besides gives *this* testimony in behalf of the rest, that none opposed his efforts against a merely nominal Christianity,

"though he often could have wished to see greater similarity of feeling and unity of the Spirit." Vexatious constraints upon his activity were found, however, in the Church polity of Frankfort. The individuality of the churches was much more limited, at that time, in the imperial cities, than in the larger monarchical churches of the country. Whilst in the latter, by the consent of the civil authorities, the ecclesiastical regulations are made by the ministers, united in consistories, who, with their eminent secular President at the head, are able to give effective expression to their views, in opposition to any plans of the King, which may be dangerous to the Church; the Ministerium in the imperial cities is only allowed to advise and petition, whilst the ecclesiastical power is vested in the civil authorities and, in addition to this, some of this number attend the meetings of the ministerial body, as School-Inspectors. Therefore we find Spener frequently complaining, that in spite of repeated representations to the authorities, the ecclesiastical abuses still continued; that he would make many changes in the mode of catechization, if his hands were not tied; that whilst in the neighboring town of Bockenheim, the Reformed Church had the right of sending pastors and elders, before the communion, from house to house, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the character and conduct of the communicants, this was not allowed in Frankfort by the Civil power; and that whilst in other places the rulers gave permission, at least, to the pastors to receive the visits, at their own houses, of those anxious to converse with them, "we are here in the greatest confusion, and have no power to introduce any improvements."

The first means employed by him, to restore Christian life to the congregations intrusted to him, was to give new vigor to the *public catechetical instruction*, which, it is true, was still in use, but carelessly and mechanically performed. As in other places, the Seniors and Pastors, for the purpose of relieving each other, had regarded it beneath their dignity, and had given the employment to the deacons or School-masters. Soon after his arrival, however, Spener took the lead in giving this his entire attention. The abuses which he found existing then and which he was obliged to discountenance were, the excessive *memoriter* exercises, and the unmeaning repetitions. He limited the portion committed to memory to Luther's Small Catechism, and made the accurate comprehension of what they learned, the principal thing. For the use of Instructors, he published in 1677 his

"Simple Explanation of Christian Doctrine," and in 1683 the "*Tabulæ Catecheticae*," in 108 particulars. Next in order after this, he endeavored to give to the *preaching* a more extended influence, than could be expected from the repeated use of the gospel pericopes, set apart for the morning service. The plan which he adopted for this purpose was this; he either explained a part of the Catechism, or subsequently connected passages of the Epistle found in it, and with the theme contained in the gospel pericope, also explained another text of Scripture, not found in the usual morning lesson. His design in this arrangement, was to make the congregation thoroughly acquainted with the entire contents of the Holy Scriptures; whereas the chief object of the catechetical and homiletical practice of the preceding period, had been the *accurate knowledge of pure doctrine*. Spener would have gladly seen introduced a more *thorough preparation of the candidates for a first communion*, connected with a public confirmation; heretofore, as in other places, they were confined to sending the children, before the celebration of the sacrament, to the house of the pastor, to receive a *memoriter* examination at his hands. One of the pastors in the country, who had removed to the neighborhood of Frankfort from Hesse-Darmstadt, had introduced into his congregation, the method of confirmation practised in the Church of his native land, and Spener was also successful in introducing it into the few country congregations of Frankfort, but not into those in the city. As already observed, he was equally unsuccessful in the legal introduction of the visitation of the communicants at their houses. With his earnest views of the Church and her official authority, the exercise of *church-discipline* appeared to him a necessary requisite of a well-regulated Church, but this also needed individuals in the congregation to render assistance. The Church in Strasburg had such helps for the ministry in its lay-assistants; the Lutheran Church in Hesse also had the same kind of co-laborers, and in the country congregations of Frankfort also, there was an association of lay-elders, for the administration of ecclesiastical discipline. Such an institution was still needed in the *city*. Their church discipline consisted in this, that there was a secular judicatory of morals composed of some of the members of the council, who reported cases of gross violation of duty to the Ministerium, for the infliction of ecclesiastical punishment. The Ministerium could take an active part in this only as prosecutor, and numerous com-

plaints of Spener in reference to the transgressions of certain bodies and individuals, are still found among the records of the Frankfort Church.

The sermons of Spener, in consequence of the intelligent and thoughtful habits of the man, were not adapted to excite feeling or violent emotions; yet he produced such significant results. It is true they were only dry, didactic expositions, yet they displayed from his own experience, and the most profound acquaintance with the Scriptures, that which the congregation seldom heard at that time, the second part of the reciprocal duty: "I did this for you; *what are you doing for me?*" and by an individual who in his entire life gave proof of having preached that first to himself, which he was preaching to his people. His influence extended beyond the limits of Frankfort. The neighboring princely families of the Wetterau, particularly those of Selms-Laubach, the foreign ambassadors to the diet, and the visitors to the fairs from abroad, were among his auditors. Even in his polemical discourses, when he gave his testimony against the prevailing form of Christianity there was an absence of every thing personal, every thing aggressive, and consequently every thing calculated to excite opposition: notwithstanding this, however, a discourse which he preached in 1669, upon the false and unsatisfactory righteousness of the Pharisees, occasioned a separation, "for some set themselves so much in opposition to the truth, that they refused altogether to listen to him, whilst others, on the contrary, affected with salutary fear, became convinced of their self-deception, and were awakened to serious repentance." The succeeding year gave occasion to a union of all those most seriously inclined. Some of the most zealous adherents of Spener, among whom were the attorney John James Schütz and the teacher of the Gymnasium Diefenbach, had complained of the corrupting influence of the prevalent modes of social entertainment. Spener, therefore, "in order that it might not excite any suspicion," determined to hold social meetings of a religious character, in his own study. The design was to furnish opportunities for conversation upon religious subjects, based upon such works as these: *Lütkeinan's* Foretaste of the Divine Goodness, *Baile's* Praxis Pietatis, *Hunnius'* Epitome of the Essential Truths of the Christian Religion; and subsequently, the Evangelists were read, and the sermon of the preceding Sunday repeated. In the beginning, few of the higher classes participated, soon however

their number increased to upwards of a hundred, among whom were also women and girls. In the course of a few years others began to hold similar meetings in their own houses, where some irregularities occurred. In the year 1682, Spener at length obtained the permission from the authorities, which he had so long desired, to transfer these meetings, in consequence of their having become so well-attended, to the Church, and their character was consequently changed; the unlearned no longer ventured to take part in the speaking, and the conversational meeting, as it was intended to be, now became a Bible class in the Church.

Spener was permitted to continue all these efforts, without being assailed or interfered with, until the middle of his seventieth year, an extraordinary phenomenon really in an age, so given to fault-finding. But the principles, which he laid down, for the regulation of his conduct, both toward the authorities and his colleagues, which were published, as a preface to Blankenberg's Funeral Discourse in his "*Fragments of a Lifetime*," manifest such a degree of foresight, caution, and prudence, and his reputation for orthodoxy was so well established, that we can more readily understand, why, even in an age like that one, no obstacles were placed in his way. The most violent opposers of pious theologians were wont to spring up from their own colleagues. Spener however can glory as follows: "In the reverend body, the Frankfort Ministerium, during the twenty years I have presided over it, the God of peace has so taken care of us, that our union as colleagues has never been disturbed by any public rupture." But he never made any of his colleagues feel their official dependence, nor his intellectual superiority; when there were extraordinary labors to be performed, in consequence of vacancies, he as Senior cheerfully performed his share, and he undertook nothing, not even the publication of a theological essay, without laying it before his colleagues, to ascertain their opinion. His theological belief also did not present any tangible point of attack for his severest censors, for in his dogmatical views, he still held with undeviating stringency to the narrow basis of his favorite Dannhauer. In his sermon of 1667 on Matt. VII. 15, "Upon the False Prophets," he expresses himself, with the spirit of the keenest polemic, against the Reformed, who were endeavoring at that time, to secure the free exercise of their religion at Frankfort.

After such proofs of his zeal for "pure Lutheran doctrine,"

Spener ventured to come forth in 1675, with his little volume, which, though unpretending in its contents and small in compass, was yet an act of faith, and one of the most influential publications of the Church Literature of that whole century, viz, the "*Pia Desideria*," printed first as a preface to Arndt's Sermons, then separately, and in 1678 in the Latin language. Beginning with the Lamentations of Jeremiah: "Oh that my head were waters," the author bewails with a soul full of emotion, the sad state of the Evangelical Church and proposes *six* remedies for its correction; 1, *The more extensive diffusion of the word of God*, and private meetings for the purpose of making the people more thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures; 2, *The introduction and diligent use of the Spiritual priesthood*, the co-operation of the laity with the clergy in the edification of others and especially their own households, and by union in prayer; 3, *The earnest exhortation, that the knowledge of Christianity is not sufficient*, that the diligent practice of it must be super-added; 4, *Proper conduct towards errorists and unbelievers*, polemics conducted with Christian charity, with the hearty desire not only to convince but also to improve the opposer; 5, *A mode of theological study*, in which theologians are seriously reminded, *that success depends no less upon a godly life, than diligence and study*; 6, *Another method of preaching*, in which the prominent lesson would be, that Christianity consists in the inner or new man, the soul of which is faith, and its evidences, the fruits of the life. Though the complaints and charges of the author are expressed in this pamphlet strongly and pointedly, yet he takes good care to sustain himself by the ecclesiastical authorities, both of the period before and during which he lived, among which the testimony of his highly honored patron, the distinguished theologian Calovius, is not wanting. Besides, the manuscript before publication was laid before the Frankfurt Ministerium for their approval, and many changes were made at their suggestion, so that the author was sustained by the authority of the whole Ministerium of the imperial city. It is incorrect to regard these *Pia Desideria* as a solitary voice in the wilderness; they are rather the tenor to many sounds of different elevation and depth, which vibrated in unison with or after it, and Spener was only one of the most distinguished among the many flowers, which the living spirit of faith had brought forth in nearly all parts of Germany, since the middle of that century. A new phase of spiritual

things had been produced by the events preceding it, by the sufferings occasioned by the wars and the sad state of the Church more seriously felt during their progress; and thus a new piety had been brought out, erected upon the basis of Christian practice. Spener himself gives utterance to this feeling in a remarkable expression about the year 1677: "I myself also have observed with joy that in many places students are holding up their heads. Such spiritual movements, as they have been simultaneously seen by many, are an indubitable evidence of the divine agency, and seem to show, that *the period is nigh, when God will have compassion on his Church*. I know that this state of things exists not only in our own Church, but that there are also many found in the Reformed Church who are earnestly engaged in the work of the Lord, and that even in the thick darkness of the Roman Church, many are laboring with earnest zeal for an improvement of their condition. *Certe jam ab aliquo tempore videbar mihi, notare aliquid analogon ei seculo, cum reformatio divina magni nostri Lutheri cœlitus instaret.*" In how many hearts, these cheerful and confident words found an echo at that time, the valuable extracts from upwards of ninety letters show, which were received from the most distinguished theologians of all parts of Germany in reference to their views of the condition of the Church, and which were published by Spener in reply to the Tract: "The Disorderly Pietists." They are the plainest proof, that Spener only gave expression to that, which was then the feeling of many hearts. Even Calovius expresses himself favorably, and indeed friendly relations subsisted between him and Spener, until the year 1681, after which time, the chaplain to the Court at Darmstadt, Mentzer caused even Calovius to regard the views of Spener with suspicion. In Strasburg a more unfavorable judgment was expressed; no where, says Spener himself, did he find *rigidiores censores*, than in his native city.

More unfavorable for the reputation of Spener were the *collegia pietatis*. In themselves, no objections could be made to them, so far as orthodoxy was concerned. The Smalcald Articles had expressly declared, that the gospel was to be extended also, *per mutuum colloquium et consolationem fratrum*. In the year 1631, a plan for the establishment of a Fraternity of mutual friends, had been presented to the Faculty of Wittenberg for their consideration, and had not been disapproved of by them. In other places likewise, the

tendency to association had given rise to meetings of those entertaining similar views, as for example at Lübeck. Calovius even, speaks approvingly of such meetings of the laity, for the purpose of *promoting a better acquaintance with the Scriptures*. But the abuses, connected with the extension and multiplication of them, such as the spirit of exclusiveness, personal peculiarities, and the inclination to separate from the communion of the Church and from public worship, after a few years' continuance, caused them to be regarded with bitter suspicion and violently spoken against. They were charged with leading to the establishment of a new religion, to a separation from the Church in imitation of Labadie, to the fanaticism of the Quakers; and the name of Pietists was derived from these *collegia pietatis*. The most influential among the opposers of Spener in this neighborhood, in consequence of these movements, was his former friend Mentzer, first chaplain to the Court of Darmstadt. John Winckler, subsequently pastor at Hamburg, but associate chaplain with him at that time, an earnest Christian, was forced by the wishes of certain awakened persons, to introduce in the year 1675, such meetings at Darmstadt, with the zealous co-operation of a councillor of the exchequer Kriegsmann, whose excellent work *Symphonies Christianorum*, furnishes a beautiful testimony to his disposition. In consequence of the growth, in his immediate neighborhood, of this exclusive and in his view too active piety, Mentzer and also his nephew pastor L. Hanneken in Giessen, allowed themselves to be prejudiced against Spener, and used their influence, wherever possible, against him. Other opponents also appeared, whose attacks were replied to by Spener. Besides this, Spener opposed most earnestly the schismatic inclinations of his followers, of which he was not the cause, though, as he says, they were the means of taking away *the best* from him. He did this by means of a pamphlet with the title: "Complaints about the Low State of Christianity," and was successful by this publication, in bringing back nearly all those who had been misled. Still the Spirit of schism continued to maintain itself, in that neighborhood, until the most recent period. From the fact, that Spener did not introduce his devotional meetings, into his subsequent fields of labor, it might be supposed, that he disapproved of them in later life. But this is not the fact. It is true, that in his account of his life, he acknowledges, "that for many reasons, he had not reaped the advantages from them, which

he expected." But as a proof, that he did not doubt of their beneficial effects, when in the year 1700, under his successor Arcularius at Frankfort, the devotional meetings were forbidden, he thus writes to Francke: "In Frankfort, two weeks ago, Christians were deprived of the privilege of holding, on pain of severe punishment, those meetings established for their edification, which have been continued, not without blessings and many good results, for thirty years; for the Ministerium denounced them from the pulpit, from Advent onwards, until they extorted a decree for their suppression from the magistrates. I am afraid that the unfortunate city has thus driven away from it much benefit."

Thus Spener had been extending his beneficial influence in Frankfort for twenty years, and his reputation had spread through the whole of Germany, when unexpectedly he received a call, to occupy, we may say, the highest ecclesiastical position then in Germany. In 1686, he received a call, as first chaplain and member of the Superior Consistory in Dresden. The fame of Saxony, as the cradle of the Reformation, its two theological Faculties in Leipsic and Wittenberg, and the powerful official influence, exerted by the first chaplain upon the Electoral Prince, gave to this position a very great significance. It appears from the correspondence of Carpzov with Spener, preserved in the archives of the Halle Orphan House, in reference to this call, that it was due to the personal preference of the Electoral Prince, George the III., who had conceived a strong affection for Spener, in consequence of Spener's upright conduct towards him, on the occasion of a communion in Frankfort.

Spener, still partial to the mode of resignation, observed by him when called to Frankfort, requested in the first place, the decision of the magistrate of Frankfort, and when this individual hesitated, he placed the matter in the hands of his well-tried theological friends, *Scrifer* in Quedlinberg, *Seipp* in Pymont, *Spizel* in Augsburg, *Winckler* in Hamburg and *Korthold* in Kiel. These friends, without a dissenting voice, had given their verdict in favor of his accepting the call, and then the man of God prepared to comply. Amid the most painful regrets of his friends, he left the scene of his twenty years' labor, the 20th of July, 1686.

The new sphere of labor, into which Spener entered, presented a more extended prospect for good, than the former one; but it was so limited by the circumstances, that its extent could not then be clearly seen. Although the power of

the Ministerium as a spiritual body at Frankfort was limited, yet the influence of the Senior depended upon the weight of his personal character; but in Dresden Spener was the only spoke in the bureaucratic motive-power. The Superior Consistory was composed of two temporal and two spiritual members; the first chaplain had but one vote, frequently also the authority of the President determined the result, and ecclesiastical matters of a mixed character were handed over to the privy councillor, for final presentation to the Prince. The general influence of the chaplain, was determined by the extent of his personal influence, as pastor, over the Prince. It was difficult to exert much influence over the warlike George the Third, for he was most always in the field; and therefore seldom and only for a short time in his capital. Spener experienced this, a few months after his entrance upon his duties. "It makes me heartily sorry," Spener writes, "that the Prince is so seldom in Dresden, not more than four times, during the nine weeks that I have been here, and then only a few days. Usually he came on Saturday and was off again on Monday." And there was still more painful experience for him in the future.

The first hostile movement originated at Leipsic. We are not to suppose that the theologians of the close of this century were the same combatants as those at its commencement, warriors stern in objective dogmas, and clad in iron-mail. A greater interest of the subject in objective truth was now prevalent; the promotion of practical piety was already regarded by many as a matter, which ought to interest the heart of the theologian, no less than purity of doctrine, and thus the Leipsic theologians, especially Olearius, Carpzov and Alberti were regarded as men who ought to be concerned for piety, and besides this, much more for themselves. This much at least can be said, that the devotion and self-denial, manifested by Spener, for the kingdom of God, was a mirror of condemnation, in which they saw and could be ashamed of their own lukewarmness and insincerity. Of them it might be said, as Spener says of those associated with himself at Dresden: "*How can they love Him sincerely, who does not approve and love that in which they delight?*" In what light they regarded the zeal manifested by Spener, for the cause of God, may be seen from the following characteristic narrative. The Mr. Winckler, who has been already mentioned, and had in the mean while been removed to one of the very large parishes of Hamburg, had re-

quested an opinion from the Faculty of Leipsic upon this question: "Whether a pastor, who in consequence of the size of his parish, was neither acquainted with the condition of his people, nor able to give them the pastoral care they needed, could be a *verus* and *legitimus pastor*, and whether under such circumstances, he should not resign his office. His parish contained 30,000 souls, and he could exert an influence upon them, only by his sermons, and a catechetical exercise every four weeks; of 10,000 children able to attend school, there were only, at the highest, 3,000 in attendance." The answer of the Faculty was to this effect: "The proposer of the query says, there are upwards of 30,000 persons in his parish. This is indeed a large number; but the prophet Jonah had in his parish at Niniveh more than 120,000 souls, Jon. IV. 11. Who can believe, that Jonah could be concerned *in specie* and *in individuo* for each one of his hearers." Besides, their Saxon pride had been very much wounded, by the calling of a theologian of another state, to the highest spiritual position, which Carpzov had strong hopes of obtaining for himself. His animosity was increased, when at the instance of Spener, a reproof was sent from the Superior Consistory to the Faculty, and an exhortation to greater industry, in the explanation of the Sacred Scriptures. Years had passed by, during which they held no exegetical exercise. The discoveries made by Spener, in his examination of the candidates, appear almost incredible. In February 1687, he thus writes to Rechenberg: "I observe with pain, that among the candidates for examination, there are only a few who possess even a moderate knowledge of the New Testament, (to say nothing of the Old). *Immo plerique Græca non intelligunt. Hujus tamen lingua, in scholis et gymnasiis, cognitionem jam comparasse debebant.*" Some of the Magistri had commenced in Leipsic in 1686, to promote a knowledge of the Scriptures in the original languages, by means of a *collegium philobiblicum*, and were favored and aided by the Faculty itself. When however several of them, as Francke, Anton, and Schade entered into a closer union with Spener, and commenced, subsequently to the year 1689, to hold *collegia biblica*, for the edification of themselves and others, in the German language, in which also laymen, participated Carpzov began to preach against the "Pietists," and introduced this party name from Frankfort also into Saxony. Alberti also, previously a friend of Spener, began to engage in polemical discussions. This ill-feeling was greatly in-

creased by the satirical Journal of Thomasius, a relative of Rechenberg the son-in-law of Spener, and also connected with Spener, which appeared in 1688, the title of which was: "Playful and Serious Thoughts, Freely Expressed," in which the clergy, particularly Carpzov and the Professors Extr. Alberti and Pfeifer were mercilessly criticized. Spener was of course regarded as connected with it, though he repeatedly implores Rechenberg in his letters, to warn and restrain Thomasius. As a consequence, not only the *collegia biblica*, but also the *philobiblica*, as the nurseries of the former, were suppressed; and Francke, brought to trial, chooses to the great grief of Spener, Thomasius as defender.

In the mean while, another storm was preparing for Spener. In the discharge of his official duties in Dresden, as at Frankfurt, he had from the beginning been much interested in the work of catechization. A general order for the introduction of this again into Saxony, had been adopted, before the arrival of Spener, but had not been carried into execution. By the verbal permission of the Prince, he began the work in his own house, "and it was attended by those in high and low stations, and even those of rank in large numbers," though haughty theologians were heard to say in derision, *the Prince desired to have a Superior chaplain for himself, and had obtained instead, a schoolmaster.* When this place became too small, the Princess threw open her own chapel. This lady, who was a Danish Princess, with her household in general, were among his greatest admirers. An unfortunate conflict with the Prince, however, is said to have made it impossible for him to maintain his position at Dresden. Apart from this, the interest of the Prince in him had soon by degrees decreased, and Spener complains, that his visits to the Church became less frequent. Then that took place, of which Spener gives an account in a letter to Rechenberg, March 14, 1689. "As our whole city is full of the offence, given by me to the Prince, and rumor may convey the intelligence of it to you also, that you may know the particulars of it, I thought it right to give you a full account of it. You remember I was called by the Prince, not only to preach in his chapel, but also to be his spiritual adviser. Conscious of the duties belonging to the office, I have from the commencement, as often as he desired to go to the communion, requested and obtained permission to visit him, and made use of the opportunity to bring before his mind, in this private manner, all those religious truths which he needed for self-examina-

tion; and to remind him of his duty. Intending to do the same thing, on the last occasion, I was refused admission, and have given up all hopes of obtaining another personal interview. I was obliged, therefore, to seek some other method of accomplishing the desired end, if I did not wish to do violence to my conscience. The recent fast-day gave me the opportunity, I desired for this purpose, and I determined on this day to have a private interview with him, when he came into the city, to exhort him to the necessary repentance; and if I failed in this, to send him a letter of similar import. Before, however, this day came, the Prince had already gone to Moritzburg. This resolution I carried into effect, and I had formed it after careful reflection and repeated prayer, and prepared a tolerably lengthy, candid but prudent letter to the Prince, in which I gave an account of his life, and called his attention to those features of it, which were in opposition to the will of God, and presented also motives, to induce him, with the divine aid, to make a change. I did not, however, communicate my intention to any one, because I believed it to be proper in a case of the kind, when the conscience of the Prince was concerned, and when I appeared as spiritual adviser. I sent this letter to him sealed, accompanied with another, in which I requested, that, as to my knowledge, the most of his letters were read beforehand, he would retain the endorsed one for himself, and read it at his leisure. After reading the letter, he became influenced with passion, perhaps through the insinuations of those around him, gave utterance to threats and violent language, and spoke of connecting himself with the Catholic Church. On the following day, he wrote me a long letter in reply, with mine enclosed, and whilst he thanked me for my concern with reference to himself, he attempted to offer excuses for himself, and closed with threats of vengeance against those who had reported the facts to me, concerning himself. On the same day, he wrote to the ladies v. Shellen-dorf and v. Nitzsch, and forbade them the Court, and if I remember rightly, attendance upon my catechetical lectures, as though they had given me the information contained in my letter, though they were altogether innocent, particularly the former, for I had seen her but once, and had never conversed with her. The Prince, however, still holds the same opinion, and has not removed the punishment. After some days, I wrote to him again, informing him of something which he desired to know, and testified to the innocence of

these females in the matter. This letter, however, he returned to me the next day, with the seal unbroken, through privy counsellor Knoch, perhaps through fear of its containing something of an unpleasant nature. What occurred subsequently, I do not know, except that they said, his passion had somewhat abated, though in the heat of it he had vowed, never to attend my preaching again, and that he would remain faithful to the vow. I asked our *Præses Consistorii*, when by special command he was conversing with me about this, whether the Prince thought of dismissing me, and told him, I would not only give my consent to it, but recognize it as a great kindness, believing that God would grant me, somewhere, a greater number of hearers than I now had, and at the same time, a still more advantageous use of my gifts." He replied: "The Prince thought of my dismissal, but could not grant it, because in consequence of it, the eyes of all Germany might be drawn to himself."

What was the nature of the representations, which Spener made in his character of spiritual adviser to the Prince, has remained concealed under the veil of secrecy, yet we may come to a conclusion from some hints in his letters to Rechenberg. "That you have heard of the illness of the Prince," says he, April 1689, "has not come to my knowledge, but if he continues to live as he has done, the physicians say he will die suddenly." In September of the same year, this apprehension was fulfilled, the Prince dies in the 45th year of his age, during one of his campaigns, in Tübingen; *visceribus internis pridem corruptis*, is added by Spener. George the third, was, as Gerber from his own experience assures us, an impulsive but easily pacified character, and therefore his passion in this instance might readily have subsided, but as there was no want of persons at Court to urge him on, his dislike of Spener increased still more, and the latter individual himself says in 1690, "The Prince wrote to the President of the Privy Council, that they must speedily bring about his removal: *so little could he endure the sight of me, much less hear my discourses, that he would be compelled to change his own residence.*" At the head of the Privy Council, at that time, was the pious von Gersdorf, at whose instance, many remonstrances were made, but they were firmly rejected by the Prince. Efforts were then made to induce Spener to a voluntary resignation, but he steadfastly refused to do this; though he should be obliged to walk daily upon thorns, he would not leave the post intrusted to him by God,

by his own decision. An offer, it is true, had been made to him from Berlin, but he had returned the answer, that the two courts should settle the matter between themselves. They could not believe in Berlin, that the Prince would consent to his removal, the vacant Provostship therefore had been given to another. As this individual died a year afterwards and the post again became vacant, the order was given by the Privy Council to the Saxon Ambassador in Berlin, to request the Brandenburg Court itself to ask for the release of Spener. With joyful feelings he writes to his dear Rechenberg, April 7, 1691, that the hour of his deliverance had struck, and a call from Brandenburg as Consistorial Councillor and Provost of St. Nicholas been presented.

Scarcely had the opposers of Spener become aware of his having lost the favor of the Prince, when the pent up hatred broke out on all sides. His ministerial colleague in the Superior Consistory, Samuel Benedict Carpzov, the brother of the Carpzov at Leipsic who was his enemy, now also suffered himself to be influenced against him by his brother. The pious Charles of Freisia no longer presided over the Consistory, through whom the call had been sent to Spener. He died a few days after the arrival of Spener in Dresden, 29th of July, 1688; after the year 1687, v. Knoch filled the office, a man who enjoyed the highest confidence of the Prince, and to say the least, was not favorable to Spener. Scarcely had the removal of Spener been concluded upon, when the envious Leipsic Carpzov took a stand against Pietism, in a series of Easter discourses, published by the authority of the University. By his aid also, the vulgar and abusive tract, "*Imago Pietismi*," was published by a pastor in Halle named Roth. These papers were the means of opening up all the flood-gates of hatred heretofore closed.

As we have mentioned above, the call to Berlin did not come directly from the Brandenburg Elector. No special sympathy with the advocates of an earnest Christianity, could be expected from the pomp and honor-loving Frederick the Third. His second wife, Sophia Charlotte of Hanover is well known for her scepticism in religion, and we can see from Spener's letters to Francke, that he had no access to the Electoral Prince, and subsequent to the year 1701, to the King, whilst the Queen was absolutely hostile to him in her feelings. The President of the Consistory after 1695, Chancellor v. Fuchs, represented the tolerant principles of

the house of Brandenburg, without manifesting any special regard for Pietism. The position of the first President v. Dankelmann, whose influence until 1697 was almost unlimited, was the same. In the Consistory, consisting at that time of the two Lutheran Provosts and a Reformed theologian, Spener had at least a highly esteemed, if not a more closely connected colleague, the Provost of Cologne on the Spree, an earnest student of the Bible, holding the views of Sandhagen. The only suitable support he found, was a member of the King's Privy Council, Mr. von Schweinitz, who was united with him, in the bonds of Christian friendship, *vir pietate, nulli secundus*, as he is designated by Spener, whose wife also was the sister of his Dresden friend von Gersdorf. Yet notwithstanding all this his situation in Berlin was much more pleasant, than the one he had left in Saxony. He was serving a government, which had made the promotion of tolerance its ruling principle: all bigotry, especially towards the Reformed Church, was forbidden to the clergy. There was, therefore, in general, a disposition to direct their attention more to practical subjects. The number of his hearers was far greater also, than in the small chapel of the court at Dresden. A few months after his arrival likewise, Schade, one of his own friends in Leipsic also received an appointment, and he was able through his friend v. Schweinitz to obtain much from the higher officers and from v. Fuchs himself, who although not specially favorable to Pietism, that he might not render the Prince suspected of being the head of a theological party, was still more disinclined to favor the more intolerant orthodox party. As at Frankfort and Dresden, Spener commenced his catechization here also, preached twice during the week, and formed a *collegium philobiblicum* of the candidates of theology, some of whom, as at Frankfort and Dresden, he constantly lodged and boarded at his own house. Whilst by his direct personal agency in preaching and writing he effected much, his indirect influence through others was also great, for he thus in the appointment to vacancies, secured positions for a large number of men of similar views and such as had endured persecution, and was especially prominent in giving to the Faculty at Halle, that theological trio, which made it the nursery of Pietistic Theology—Breithaupt, Francke, Anton. Joachim Lange also, was nominated by his exertions, after satisfying the scruples of von Fuchs, as Adjunct to the

Theological Faculty and Freylinghausen, as pastoral assistant to Francke.

The prevalent and, relatively speaking, unavoidable practice of private confession and absolution, had pained the hearts of many of the most excellent servants of the Lutheran Church, long before the time of Spener—that which distressed them was to give absolution, in the name of the Lord, from all their sins, to so many individuals, with whose spiritual condition they could not become acquainted. The small sum of money usually given for confession, in the eyes of the uneducated multitude, gave to this absolution still more, the appearance of a payment for their sins, and to confession, that of a mere *opus operatum*. In Frankfort, it is true, nothing was paid, and indeed where it was part of the salary, Spener did not wish to have it done away; in reference to the other abuse, he felt the more concerned, because in the Church in Alsace, the practice of private confession did not exist, and he did not see how the evil could be removed in large cities, without an increase of the clergy, or the aid of lay elders. His colleague Schade having the same convictions with himself, was not able to continue a practice any longer, which so plainly did violence to his conscience. Vexed with the abuse, regardless of consequences, he brought his complaint before the congregation. A tract of his, which appeared in 1697, closes with the words: "Let him who wishes, praise the *confessional*, the *throne of Satan*, the *lake of fire*." He expressed himself also in the same way in a sermon, and at the next administration of the sacrament, he ventured, in violation of the duties of his office as Lutheran preacher, after prayer and confession of sins, to pronounce a general absolution of the assembled communicants, without the preparatory private confession. These occurrences occasioned a commotion in the whole Lutheran Church in Berlin, especially as a great number of citizens unhesitatingly declared before a special commission appointed by the Prince, that they would no longer make use of any private confession. It was only through the most active exertions of Spener, that the officers allowed him the privilege of continuing in his office, without the administration of private confession. Schade himself was called away from the scene of his earthly labors in 1698, and an edict followed, allowing those, who had any scruples in reference to private confession, a dispensation from it. We can readily understand how it is, when the beloved man complains to Francke, that his

severest trials and anxieties were occasioned not by his *enemies*, but his *friends*.

Whilst Spener was thus obliged to use every exertion in Berlin, to remove from his friends the consequences of their excesses, which he himself deeply deplored, the most violent attacks of his enemies from every direction were made upon him, as the first occasion of the fanatical sects every where appearing. Neither was it the old method of disputation, as carried on by Calovius; the libels of Mayer, Schelling, Carpzov, Ulrich Calixtus and numberless others did not contain thorough theological discussions upon objective truth; but personalities, bandying of words and slanders of the most repulsive character had taken their place. The Tract issued by the Faculty of Wittenberg in 1695, entitled: "Christian Lutheranism in plain and truthful statements, from the Word of God and the Symbolical Books of the Church, contrasted with the errors of Dr. Spener's writings," caps the climax of all the libels published by individuals. Spener is charged with not less than 283 errors. Prepared however by Deutschmann, the Senior of the Wittenberg Faculty, whose intellectual powers were on the decline, this Tract was so manifestly a passionate and unreliable piece of bungling, that even the prudent Spener thus expresses himself in reference to it. "The labor of these men, in the Providence of God, had such ill success, that the Faculty degraded itself, by means of it, before the whole Church, to such a degree, that some of my friends congratulated me that God had given my enemies over into my hands." With what charitable feelings, each temperately written Tract was treated by the peace-loving man, one may see in his "Complete Vindication of his Innocence," written in 1696, in reply to Alberti. In this he expresses his pleasure, that the Leipsic theologian above mentioned, in his paper against him, had reduced, without the use of violent language, the points in dispute to a few, so that Spener also very briefly explains, how they could easily come to a proper understanding. We are indeed amazed at the industry of this man of many labors, for he devotes a separate Tract to the refutation of the charges of each respectable opponent. He himself complains that much time, which he could employ to better advantage, was spent upon these disputes. Yet he who did not reply, in those days, to an opponent, was regarded as *confessus* and *convictus*; and if an individual himself was unwilling to engage the less assailants, he was at least obliged to send some of his friends

as armor-bearers against them, as indeed Spener frequently did. In every respect, however, these polemical Tracts are a striking testimony to the sincerity and humility of the man; their principal fault is, that they present the points in dispute with too great minuteness of detail, instead of giving them in a general way. Among his apologetic writings, that one is the most deserving of particular notice, which he prepared in reply to the Wittenbergers, "Entire Conformity with the Augsburg Confession," and also that one in answer to the pamphlet, which was prepared with Carpzov's co-operation, called, "The Mischief described." The latter of these, which appeared in 1693, and was dedicated to the Elector of Saxony, contains an instructive, historical description of the whole Pietistic controversy. The article which he prepared, at the request of the Elector, in reference to the pamphlet above mentioned, and the so-called Pietistic sect in Saxony, is so satisfactory in its character, that his opposers were unable to bring forward any satisfactory proof for their charges.

Spener did not live to see the triumph of the views, represented by him at the Court of Berlin, and in the city itself. This was completed in the year 1708, upon the third marriage of the King, with Sophia Louisa of Mecklenburg. Under the direction of her chaplain *Porst*, meetings for prayer were held even at the Court, at which the King was, several times, present and did not remain unaffected; and among the citizens and clergy also, new associations for edification were formed.

After Spener had completed his dogmatic work, "The Eternal Divinity of Christ," this beloved teacher, who had pointed out the way of Salvation to so many, entered into the joy of his Lord, Feb. 5, 1705. His profitable dying instructions and peaceful end, have been described by v. Canstein, an eye-witness. His former assistant Blankenberg became his successor.

A few words as to his family. His wife belonged to the respectable family of Ehrhardt of Strasburg. They lived together in the most complete harmony of spirit: of the eleven children, who were the fruit of this union, eight were alive, at the time of his death. He lived to derive satisfaction only from a few. John Jacob, appointed Professor at Halle in 1691, according to the testimony of the father, by bodily affliction was made spiritually whole, and died 1692. His son William Louis, the theologian, gave him the great-

est hope and the truest pleasure, though he died in the twenty-first year of his age. Another son, Jacob Charles, first theologian, then jurist, fell into a deep melancholy, which disqualified him for the discharge of the duties of his office. The youngest son, Ernest Gottfried, also at first a theologian, was lead astray and lived a wicked life, forsook after the death of his father, the study of theology, and died in the twenty-sixth year of his age, as judge, after the blessing of the Father had restored him, before his death to his God.

It remains for us, to examine Spener's character in its *churchly* and *practical Christian aspects*, and the *amount and extent of his influence upon the Evangelical Church*.

In theological culture and the accuracy of his theological knowledge, Spener is behind none of his contemporaries. His sermons, as well as his polemical writings, give satisfactory evidence of profound exegetical study and exegetical talent; and we mention in this connection his excellent little work, "The Improper Use of the Words of the Scripture, by Men of the World." In *systematic* theology, he rivals the most gifted of his contemporaries, without indeed departing from that formal mode of discussion, which in the treatment of questions of a dogmatic character, had taken the place of the speculation and mysticism of the middle ages. So thoroughly had he made himself acquainted, with this formal, logical dexterity, which the methods of study of that age cultivated, that the beautiful perspicuity of his dogmatical and practical expositions furnish real intellectual gratification. What instructive and profitable discourses, for every practical clergyman, are his theological considerations, in consequence of their perspicuity and their satisfactory Scripture proofs. His knowledge, or at least his subsequent *interest*, seems however not to have gone beyond the limits of theological science, for there do not seem to be any fruits of his historical and classical studies. Although we would hardly suppose it to be the case, we find united, in equal strength, a large, warm heart, and distinguished prudence; though a total want of imaginative power. The very fact, that in his historical studies he made choice of Genealogy and Heraldry as his favorites, will be sufficient proof of this. Even amid the accumulated theological labors of his later life, he found leisure for this study of his youth, and published as late as the year 1690, the stirring heraldic work, "*Insignium Theoria*." How much his taste for grace-

ful composition and rhetorical culture decreased, he himself acknowledges with regret. His sermons and all his writings are marked by almost intolerable length. It was not given him, according to his own admission, to speak and write "with agreeable brevity." He had made attempts, according to the custom of his day, in the composition of Latin verses, but without any special talent; of his nine German Sacred Songs, one is worthy of distinction, his Funeral Hymn. As to his *ecclesiastical* position, his stand-point was, sincere and entire subjection to the Confession of his Church. He however desired, to give the widest extension possible to the limits assigned by the theologians to the Confessions. In fact among Spener's statements, none can be found, which cannot be sustained by the authority of one or more orthodox theologians; and he himself does not fail to furnish, wherever he can, such unsuspected authorities as Gerhard, Meissner, Meyfart v. Andreae, and others. Though in the advanced age to which he belonged, he uses language with less reserve, and reveals to a greater extent the prevalent abuses. The uncharitable polemical spirit, the perverted modes of study, the trust in *opus operatum*, the abuse of the Confessional, the partial instructions in reference to faith and justification by it—all these distorted views of the Lutheran Church had also been earnestly discussed by most of those who preceded him, as I have shown in my, "Life-sketches of the Lutheran Church." What distinguishes him however from his predecessors, is the much greater indulgence he extends to those, who, in combating these errors, by exceeding the proper limits, had fallen into erroneous opinions. The more strongly marked subjectivity of the piety of the age, and the views of Calixtus, which had to a considerable extent entered into its consciousness, in reference to the difference between religion and theology, had led him to the conviction, that *there may exist an inconsistent relation between error in doctrine, and the truth and purity of Christian life*; that genuine discipleship is not incompatible, with errors even in reference to some of the important articles of faith. This also is the foundation of a judgment, subsequently expressed by him, in reference to the Reformed Church, that her errors "consist more in theory than in practice." When a Christian finds, by intimate intercourse with an individual, that it is manifestly the principal aim of his life to serve God, and that he confides in nothing else, than in the grace of God in Jesus Christ, even though such a one may

belong to an erring congregation, and himself entertain some errors, he may still be regarded as a child of God. Now inasmuch as Spener does not deny, *that such a departure from the truth involves in itself a defect in the religious life*, he could correctly appeal, as he does, to what the Preface to the Form. Concord says, of the errors of *simplices* and whole Churches, for what is added of *pertinacia* as a ground of exclusion has in general only a relative character. And though Löscher may not be wrong, when he regards it as the chief fault of the departed man, that he did not reprove his friends with sufficient earnestness, for those things which he himself regarded as errors; yet he cannot be convicted of any departure, in principle, from the faith of his Church. Besides every thing, which emanated from his pen, was so well thought out, and so carefully guarded, that even his opponents, with all their eagerness to find fault, acknowledged how difficult he had made it for them. "One of my opponents," says he, "complained on a certain occasion, that when he had found something, by which he thought he could convict me, and prove my sympathy with heterodoxy, he always met with something, by considering it accurately with its connections, which prevented a successful attack." The only, at least, apparent heterodoxy was his *Chiliasm*. Among the old Lutherans he found no support at all, it was Reformed theology alone, which, by means of its greater exegetical accuracy, had given currency to Chiliastic hopes, yet he defended himself against this charge, by saying that he did not belong to those Chiliasts, who reject the 17th Article of the Augsburg Confession. Still easier was it, to defend his expectation of a universal conversion of the Jews, against the attacks of Pfeifer. Many of the oldest Lutheran theologians, Hutter, Hunnius and Baldwin had occupied a position on this subject, antagonistic to that of Luther.

As far as the personal religion of the man is concerned, we have designated him, as the purest of all the prominent characters of the Evangelical Church. All the particulars, both of his public and private life, are known to us, by the exertions of his enemies as well as his friends, through his numberless writings, and his extensive, partly unpublished correspondence, which disclose to our view the most secret chambers of his heart; but it would be difficult to say, from what direction a charge could be brought against his moral character. Whilst gentleness, humility and love can be mentioned, as the fundamental features of his religious char-

acter, there were also found united with them, when it was necessary, energy and manliness, though always clothed in the garb of prudence. The strongest proof of this is found in his conduct towards the Elector, which gained his respect, in spite of his violent anger; for not a single improper word found its way into the letters, sent by the enraged Prince to Spener, after his conscience had received such a severe check; and his letter of dismissal breathes only good wishes. He did not put himself on a level with such insolent opponents, as Mayer, and Schelwig; but though destitute of all claims to respectful treatment, he conducts himself towards them with composure and dignity. Seldom will we find, when the entire course of a man's life is before us, so complete a correspondence with the most secret purposes of the heart, as we discover in the letters of Spener to his relations and his most intimate friends. Perfect integrity and truthfulness is conspicuous in all his actions. His chief anxiety was "*to commit no sin*;" and Spener's example gives a distinguished proof, how far a Christian can be successful in this, by watchfulness and prayer. He walked in the fear of the Lord, and in persevering prayer, with which he united voluntary fasting. Yet we cannot overlook the fact, how far the beautiful harmony of his Christian life, was aided by the natural elements of his character. To what an extent Spener was, by nature, free from violent emotions, can be very readily seen from his own assertion, that none of the attacks of his enemies *had occasioned him even one sleepless night*. He speaks of himself as naturally timid and diffident, and if this natural defect, causes his Christian energy to appear in a more favorable light, we can more readily understand why it was more easy for him to be gentle. He is not willing to receive the praise awarded to him, for the moderation and mildness, which he continually maintained in his polemical writings, for he says: "I do not regard this moderation as a peculiar virtue, for it is partly natural inclination, partly a habit formed from childhood, in consequence of which it was very difficult for me to use strong expressions, even in matters of importance;" in which remarks he refers to the moderate language he had used against the Catholic Breving, for which he had been suspected rather than praised.

That which was recognized in the case of the Reformers, that the agency of each distinguished individual, was more *with* the age than *upon* it, has not been acknowledged in

Church History with reference to Spener. It is still customary, to represent the change of the theological views which took place in the second half of the 17th century, as well as Pietism, as it arose in the Halle period, as the fruit of the activity of Spener. In speaking of the *Pia Desideria*, we have already shown, how little this was the case. So little was Spener compelled, on his first appearance, to speak in his own defence, that from the very beginning, he was continually hailed with acclamation, by a great party, as their spokesman. As the portraiture of the Lutheran and the Reformed theologians of the 2nd half of the Seventeenth century, in the 2nd volume of my "Academical Life," shows, the Protestant theology of this period changes its ground from Dogmatism to that of personal piety. Even outside of the German Church, we find Mysticism and Quietism appearing in the French Catholic, and Cocceianism very much allied to Pietism, in the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. *The most influential centre for the progressive change was doubtless Spener, not merely for the reason usually given, in consequence of his high ecclesiastical position in Dresden and Berlin, but much more through the respect which his own elevated Christian character, and the moderation of his theological views inspired.* The second half of the seventeenth century would scarcely have tolerated the acerbity of the subsequent Franckean Pietism. Only such a personal character, as that of Spener, was adapted to make the transition to a more subjective piety. Besides this, he had gained the confidence of a number of German Princes and influential statesmen. His connection with the ducal family of Würtemberg, and the nobility of the Wetterau has already been mentioned; he stood so high also, in the estimation of Duke Ernest, during his residence in Frankfort, that he requested him to give an expression of opinion to him during the Calixtine controversies; the pious Gustavus Adolphus of Mecklenburg consulted him with reference to the contemplated reformation in his land; the pious Ulrica Eleanora of Sweden, wife of the orthodox Charles the XI., corresponded with him as to calling the aged Scriver from Magdeburg; and how much the Saxon Princes favored him has already been mentioned. He was a bond of union for all Lutheran theologians, who had not declined to the furthest extreme of bigotry. Decided, on the one side, in favor of pure Lutheran doctrine, and cheerfully extending his recognition, wherever he saw only the

weakest fruits of the Spirit; charitable, on the other, towards individual deviations in doctrine when found in connection with sincere and ardent faith, he formed the mean between two opposite extremes, one of which was occupied by the Dannhauers and Caloviuses, the other by the Arndts and Petersens, correcting equally the illiberality of the one, and the excesses of the other. All those who were influenced by the new practical spirit of the age in Germany, endeavored to have personal, and if that was not possible, epistolary intercourse with him. During one year he answered 622 letters, whilst 800 still remained unanswered; and how comprehensive some of them were may be seen from his "Thoughts." The almost universal practice which the students in the Academies had of traveling, at that time, furnished him with opportunities for scattering the seeds of truth. He exerted a greater influence through a number of candidates, whom he was in the habit of taking into his house, when he lived in Frankfort, Dresden and Berlin, as boarders; in accordance with the custom not only of the teachers in the University, but also of prominent clergymen. Of far-reaching influence was his varied literary activity, for the labors of which he managed to find time, although nearly the whole of it was taken up in attending meetings of the Consistory, from 8 o'clock in the morning, with a short intermission for his meals, until 7 in the evening. The catalogue of his publications by Canstein, embraces no less than 7 in Folio, 63 volumes quarto, published during his life-time, 7 in octavo and 46 in duodecimo; besides these, numberless prefaces to books, prepared by his friends, especially those to important old practical books, with which he had made the Christian public acquainted. How carefully he redeemed the time for those varied labors, may be seen from the fact, that he withdrew himself almost entirely from all entertainments and social intercourse, and had visited his garden in Berlin only twice in nine years. The tendency of theology, was quite different in the greater part of Germany at his death than it had been at his appearance on the stage; still the majority of the ecclesiastical bodies and perhaps the half of the theological Faculties were his opposers. Still many of those entertaining similar views with himself had attained high theological honors, especially in the Universities of Halle and Giessen; soon also a goodly company of spiritual pupils grew up for him at Jena and Königsberg, with whom the Lutheran piety of Spener passes over into Pietism.

ARTICLE V.

OUR GENERAL SYNOD.

THE Twentieth Convention* of the General Synod met, according to appointment, in the city of Lancaster, Penn., May 1st, 1862, and was opened with a discourse by Rev. Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, President of the former Convention, from the words, "And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve things that are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ; being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God." After an appropriate introduction, the following points were presented and earnestly enforced: The importance of our discerning and maintaining the doctrines of the Gospel; the sentiments of love and Christian affection, which an accurate discernment of Gospel truth may be expected to cherish; and the acts and deeds, resulting from these affections to the glory and the praise of God. The members of Synod were urged to cast aside all doubts and misgivings, and to address themselves to the high and holy responsibilities, which the exigencies of the Church and of the State imposed upon them; to go forward in God's name; to adopt the motto, chosen by holy men of former times, "Nothing is to be despaired of, if Jesus lead the way;" and to feel assured, that He would bring about such results, through their instrumentality, that their own deep wonder at them would be lost in the rising voice of thanksgiving; for they would see, that after all, they were not their own works, but the works that are by Jesus Christ to the glory and the praise of God. The discourse was able and suggestive, marked by decision of views, and kindness of tone. It was received with general satisfaction and a copy, requested for publication.

The General Synod is, at the present time, composed of twenty-seven District Synods from all of which, except the

* *Officers.*—B. Kurtz, D. D. LL. D., Maryland, *President*; Prof. M. L. Stoever, Pennsylvania, *Secretary*; A. F. Ockershausen, Esq., New York, *Treasurer*.

Synods of Virginia, Western Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas, delegates were present. It was stated, in Convention, that a communication had been received from the delegate appointed by the Synod of Texas, who was now absent from the country in Germany, and that he was desirous that the Synod should know, that "whatever traitors and rebels in his State had done, the Synod of Texas had remained loyal to the Government and the Constitution of our Country." The opinion was also expressed, that in the Confederate States there were many of the brethren, whose sympathies were still with us, and who, so soon as the Government established its authority over this territory, would gladly co-operate with us in our efforts to build up the interests of the Church. Delegates from the Synods of Maryland and Kentucky were in attendance, and also one from Nashville, Tenn., who is in connection with the Synod of Southern Illinois. The Synod of New Jersey made application for admission, and, having complied with the Constitutional requirements, was cordially received. One hundred and twenty (seventy-one clerical and forty-nine lay-members,) answered to their names when the roll was called, only seventeen less than were present, at the last Convention, when all the Southern States were represented. There were likewise in attendance seventy clergymen, as well as prominent laymen from different sections of the Church, not delegated to the body, together with thirteen ministers from other branches of the Christian Church, who, by their presence and attention, from day to day, evinced their interest in the proceedings of the Convention.

The sessions of the Synod were well attended, the congregations at the public services, large and attentive, the pecuniary collections for benevolent purposes, prompt and liberal and the kindness of the families, whose hospitalities the Synod enjoyed, most generous and grateful. The deliberations of the Convention were harmonious and pleasant, conducted with freedom and earnestness, and even when a diversity of opinion existed, there was always a spirit of forbearance and love manifested. There was in the Convention a large amount of the talent and experience of the Church, all interests were represented, and the discussions marked by more than ordinary ability. During the sessions various subjects claimed the attention of Synod. The different benevolent Societies of the Church also celebrated their anniversaries, and transacted a large amount of important busi-

ness. Much valuable information was communicated and a new impulse imparted to all these objects, so closely connected with the progress of our Zion and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

Revisal and Codification of the Rules and By-Laws of Synod.

The Report of the Committee, to whom this subject was entrusted at the last Convention, engaged the early attention of Synod. The Minutes of all the Conventions from 1820 down to the present time had been carefully examined by the Committee and the standing resolutions, collected and arranged under their appropriate head. The By-Laws were also revised and others added, so as to secure greater efficiency in conducting the business of the Synod. The rule, proposed by the Committee in reference to visiting brethren, elicited an animated debate. It was finally decided that all ministers, not elected as delegates, be tendered seats on the floor of Synod, but that they be not permitted to participate in the discussions, unless invited by a special vote of the body. Hitherto the time of Synod has often been unnecessarily consumed by the advisory members to the exclusion of those who had been regularly elected, as the representatives to the Convention. By the adoption of this rule an important point has been gained, the dignity of the body preserved and its usefulness increased. It was, also, determined that the different Societies, represented in the General Synod, should hold their regular business meetings on the afternoons of the sessions of the Convention, in the order of their organization, and that the business of these Societies should be regarded as a part of the business of the Convention. The anniversaries are to be held on the evenings of the days, designated for the transaction of business. These changes will, no doubt, be found important improvements.

Ecclesiastical Correspondence.

Rev. Philip Schaff, D. D., appeared, as a delegate from the Synod of the German Reformed Church, and Rev. Joseph Kummer, from the Provincial Synod of the Northern District of the Church of the United Brethren in North America, with the Christian salutations of the bodies they represented. Both of them delivered addresses and referred to the pleasant relations, existing between their respective

constituents and the Lutheran Church. They also presented interesting statements relative to the condition and prospects of their own Churches, and assured the Synod of the sympathy of their brethren with us in the work, in which we are engaged. They were heard with profound attention, and the President appropriately responded, cordially reciprocating, on behalf of Synod, the friendly sentiments and fraternal regard, which had been expressed, and begging the delegates to carry back with them to the Synods, they represented, our kind greetings and good feeling.

A communication was received from the delegate, appointed by the Evangelical Church Union of the West, regretting his inability to be present at the meeting and expressing the hope that the correspondence and pleasant relations between the two bodies may continue to be maintained. From the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church there was no delegate present. His absence, it was said, was occasioned by the postponement of our Convention, and not on account of a want of interest in the correspondence.

The following delegates were appointed to represent our Church in the various bodies, with which we are in correspondence: To the Synod of the German Reformed Church, S. S. Schmucker, D.D., *Primarius*, and Rev. D. Steck, *Alternate*; To the Provincial Synod of the Northern District of the Church of the United Brethren in North America, Rev. C. F. Welden, *Primarius*, and Rev. B. M. Schmucker, *Alternate*; To the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, W. H. Harrison, D. D., *Primarius*, and S. Sprecher, D. D., *Alternate*; To the Evangelical Church Union of the West, S. W. Harkey, D. D., *Primarius*, and Rev. C. Kuhl, *Alternate*. There was also a Committee on *Foreign Correspondence* appointed, consisting of S. S. Schmucker, D. D., G. B. Miller, D. D., C. P. Krauth, D. D., S. W. Harkey, D. D. and Rev. G. F. Krotel, whose duty it is to correspond with some of the principal Divines of the Lutheran Church in the different countries in Europe for the purpose of receiving and giving correct information concerning the State of our Church throughout the world, and the information thus obtained, is to be embodied by them in a report to the Synod. S. S. Schmucker, D. D., C. P. Krauth, D. D. and Prof. M. L. Stoeber were, likewise, appointed a Committee to take into consideration the condition of the German population in North America and report, at the next Convention, some plan of co-operation among them.

Narrative on the State of the Church.

The Report of Rev. B. Sadtler on the State of the Church gratefully records the fact that the Synods and churches have enjoyed many tokens of the Divine favor since the last meeting of the General Synod. The calamitous condition of the Country is referred to as a fiery trial both to the Church and State, but the hope is cherished, that the trial will issue in a purer nation and a holier, more spiritual and consecrated Church. A present loss may prove to be a permanent and blessed gain. The reports from the District Synods, represented in the Convention, reveal the following facts: (1) The immediate effect of the unhappy strife, into which the country has been forced to enter for its preservation, has somewhat checked the increase in membership in comparison with other periods. This is a natural result, not only on account of the general distraction of the public mind, but because many of the young men are in the army. (2) Whilst there has been a diminution in the membership, the means of grace have been faithfully employed. Attendance upon the sanctuary and the ordinances has been regular, except in some congregations near the borders, where the surrounding circumstances have interfered. Our time-honored custom of instructing the young, preparatory to Confirmation, has been gaining in the affections of the Church. Pastoral visitation is held in higher esteem, as a means of usefulness, and the result is that, by the use of these means of spiritual effort, many churches have enjoyed seasons of special revival, and many more have been brought to a point of consistent piety and healthful development, not hitherto attained. (3) The Sabbath School cause has advanced within our bounds; Schools have multiplied and their influence has extended. (4) The spirit of benevolence has not declined, although in many charges a different direction has been given to the contributions of the Church. The times have called for liberal gifts in connection with the wants of our army. Sewing circles have been engaged in preparing hospital garments and stores. Regiments have also been furnished with copies of the Sacred volume, books and tracts, and in various other ways have channels been opened for the benefactions of the Church. Taking into account all the sums, contributed and expended, there has been an increase rather than a diminution in the liberality of our people. (5) Our Institutions of learning have passed through various experiences.

Some of them have been little affected by the State of the Country and have been engaged in their usual routine of duty, cultivating the mind and heart and diffusing the rich blessings of intelligence and piety throughout the land. Others have been called to pass through severe trials, but the hope is indulged, that under brighter political skies their career of usefulness will be resumed. The Committee recognize much in the state of our churches to encourage us and to awaken fervent praises. To the Great Head of the Church we can look with the full confidence, that He will sanctify our reverses and use us, as humble instruments for the promotion of His glory.

Resolutions on the State of the Country.

At an early session of the Synod a Committee, consisting of one from each District Synod represented, was appointed to prepare a minute, expressive of the views of the body with regard to our duty as Christians and citizens, in the present crisis of our beloved Country. The Committee, through Rev. Dr. Passavant, subsequently submitted a report which, after a spirited and deeply interesting discussion, was adopted by an overwhelming majority. We give the resolutions in full for historical reference.

WHEREAS, Our beloved Country, after having long been favored with a degree of political and religious freedom, security and prosperity, unexampled in the history of the world, now finds itself involved in a bloody war to suppress an armed rebellion against its lawfully constituted Government; and whereas, the word of God, which is the sole rule of our faith and practice, requires loyal subjection to "the powers that be," because they are ordained of God, to be a terror to evil doers, and a praise to those who do well, and at the same time declares, that they who "resist the power" shall receive to themselves condemnation; and whereas, we, the representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States, connected with the General Synod, assembled in Lancaster, Pa., recognize it as our duty to give public expression to our convictions of truth on this subject, and in every proper way to co-operate with our fellow-citizens in sustaining the great interests of law and authority, of liberty and righteousness, be it therefore

1. *Resolved*, That it is the deliberate judgment of this Synod, that the Rebellion against the Constitutional Gov-

ernment of this land is most wicked in its inception, unjustifiable in its cause, unnatural in its character, inhuman in its prosecution, oppressive in its aims, and destructive in its results to the highest interests of morality and religion.

2. *Resolved*, That, in the suppression of this Rebellion and in the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union by the sword, we recognize an unavoidable necessity and a sacred duty, which the Government owes to the nation and to the world, and that, therefore, we call upon all our people to lift up holy hands in prayer to the God of battles, without personal wrath against the evil doers on the one hand, and without doubting the righteousness of our cause on the other, that He would give wisdom to the President and his counsellors, and success to the army and navy, that our beloved land may speedily be delivered from treason and anarchy.

3. *Resolved*, That while we recognize this unhappy war as a righteous judgment of God, visited upon us, because of the individual and national sins, of which we have been guilty, we nevertheless regard this Rebellion as more immediately the natural result of the continuance and spread of domestic slavery in our land, and therefore hail with unmingled joy the proposition of our Chief Magistrate, which has received the sanction of Congress, to extend aid from the General Government to any State, in which slavery exists, which shall deem fit to initiate a system of constitutional emancipation.

4. *Resolved*, That we deeply sympathize with all loyal citizens and Christian patriots in the rebellious portions of our country, and we cordially invite their co-operation, in offering united supplications at a Throne of Grace, that God would restore peace to our distracted country, re-establish fraternal relations between all the States, and make our land, in all time to come, the asylum of the oppressed, and the permanent abode of liberty and religion.

5. *Resolved*, That our devout thanks are due to Almighty God for the success which has crowned our arms, and while we praise and magnify his name for the help and succor he has graciously afforded our land and naval forces, in enabling them to overcome our enemies, we regard these tokens of his divine favor, as cheering indications of the final triumph of our cause.

The action of the General Synod in the frank, fearless and unqualified expression of its views on the present national

struggle, and its cordial support, of the efforts now making to suppress the rebellion, is a deliverance, wise and noble, worthy of the occasion and of the first-born Church of the Reformation. The loyalty of the Church, through its representatives, has been expressed in the most unequivocal and decided manner. The discussion on the subject was able, conducted in a kind, serious and Christian spirit, and participated in by Drs. Passavant, Harkey, Sprecher, Stork, Hay, Hon. H. H. Van Dyke, Rev. W. G. Harter, Prof. Sternberg, Rev. T. T. Titus, J. J. Cochran, Esq., Prof. Eggers, Rev. B. M. Schmucker, Hon. C. Kugler, Rev. J. R. Focht, and others. Various substitutes and amendments were proposed, but they were all rejected. There was very little difference of opinion in the Convention on the Report of the Committee, except in reference to the adoption of the third Resolution, opposition to which was urged on the ground of expediency.

It was argued, on the one hand, that it did not become ecclesiastical bodies to make declarations on political questions. Although we may believe that the proposition of the President is the most practicable measure, the wisest that could be adopted, it was inexpedient for the Synod to express an opinion in relation to the subject. We had a right to declare against slavery, but the wisdom of attempting, in our ecclesiastical capacity, to choose a way in which to put an end to the institution was doubted, as on that question the best of men entertained a diversity of views, and the Church had no right to give an expression of opinion. It would be said that we had taken sides on a party measure. It was a subject on which Congress differed, and one which was purely legislative. The discussion and decision of such questions did not come within the legitimate province of Synod. With as much propriety Congress might determine the platform or doctrinal basis of Synod, whether it should be in accordance with the Augsburg Confession or in conformity to some other Creed. The line of demarcation should be clearly and distinctly drawn between questions relating to the stability of the Government and the Union, and measures of mere expediency, which Congress alone has the power to decide. The introduction of the subject was to be deprecated. It was in contradiction to the whole character of the Lutheran Church and would violate the moral and religious sense of our constituents. Not that the Church was not loyal; our people had sent their sons and contributed their means to the aid of the Government; they would stand by

it to the last extremity in the exercise of its authority, in its efforts to crush the Rebellion and preserve the Union, but the slavery question and its disposition was a different matter. Its agitation in our ecclesiastical Convention would do no good. It would create strife and separate brethren. It would sunder different sections of the Church more widely than ever. It was hoped that the prediction, once uttered, would not be verified, "That the Synod, at first a lamb, would finally show the lion's teeth and claws to tyrannize over the District Synods." Our Church had not been divided on the subject, or its harmony interrupted as other Christian denominations, because we had carefully excluded the discussion of the question from our Synodical meetings. We should, therefore, proceed with extreme caution. It was our duty to conciliate rather than alienate our brethren, professing the same faith, adopting the same doctrines and practices with ourselves. In all our efforts to crush the Rebellion we should never lose sight of the idea of a reconstruction, both of the Church and the Union, on a purer and better principle. We should look forward to the time, when these erring brethren would repent and again unite with us. There were loyal men, in the Border, and even in the Cotton States, who would regard the measure proposed as most unfortunate, fraught with disastrous results. Some also opposed the resolution on the ground, that it was a virtual endorsement of slavery, that it recognized the slave as chattel by saying that the owner must be compensated, in order that the negroe might go free. All admitted that Slavery was the cause of these national difficulties, and differed only as to the propriety of Synod expressing an opinion in reference to any political measure, that had been proposed for the removal of the difficulty. It was suggested that we should only express the hope that God would through the War bring the nation to realize its duty and see what is the proper remedy; that He would, in his own good time, bring about the emancipation of the slave; that we should not anticipate Him in the work, but attend to our appropriate sphere, and it would not be long before the great evil, which had occasioned the Rebellion, would be remedied.

On the other hand, it was argued that there was a misapprehension of the design and spirit of the resolution. The President and Congress, as well as the citizens of the United States, must recognize the legality of the relation between master and slave. To those, who maintained what are called

extreme views, the idea of property in men is abhorrent, yet we must acknowledge the legal relation. Henry Clay once said, "*That is property, which the law makes property.*" The primitive Christians, whilst they regarded the system of Slavery with the greatest detestation, freely devoted their means to the purchase of their brethren from bondage; many were impoverished by their contributions in this direction; they gave millions of money for the purpose of emancipation. It was asserted that the ground, taken by the resolution, was the true one, on which the Church and the Synod ought to stand, and that it was peculiarly appropriate, when we remembered that we would be called upon to contribute towards the carrying out of the object of the measure. It becomes our duty to lead the way and prepare our people for this great movement. To us it may be a sacrifice of money and of feeling, but we should be willing to make sacrifices for so great and noble an end. But in doing so, we do not sacrifice Christian principle or assert that the slaveholder has any claim upon the property, which he has no right to hold. When we assist an unfortunate brother with means to redeem by purchase his wife and children from bondage, we do not by the act recognize the right of possession in man. The Government is now giving that principle, upon which we have often acted, an enlarged sphere. It was not to be forgotten, too, that many men in the South hold slaves unwillingly, whose worldly means were all bound up in that species of property. Let us then go so far, as to say while the evil of Slavery is great, we in the North have likewise sinned and are willing to share with our brethren, if they desire it, the loss resulting from emancipation; so far as we have light, we should be disposed generously to bear with them part of the burden. By adopting the resolution we might do much in making and sustaining public opinion, in upholding the Government in the important work in which it was engaged. We represented a part of the people, the German element, over whom we could exercise an influence. The recognition by the Synod of the principle, recommended by the Chief Magistrate, will not make us politicians. We ought to express an opinion on the religious aspect and interests of the question, the emancipation of those from bondage for whom Christ died. The Great Reformer of the XVIth Century, whose name we bore, never hesitated boldly to utter his sentiments on the state of the country, fearlessly to rebuke or to approve the acts of the Government. In reply to the assertion that we, as a Church,

had never been divided on this question of Slavery, the reason was obvious. We had hitherto done nothing. We had been asleep and were just now waking up to the great truths before us, and to our high and responsible duties. Often before this, the brethren had felt that they ought to speak, but were deterred by precedent from doing so, and now without provocation these Synods had turned their back and left us. Some of their number, those very men who were responsible for this action, will never be listened to by the loyal people of the South, even the slaveholding portion. The Lutheran Church had always been loyal to the great interests of humanity, and now the time had come for her to speak, to present the great facts, to bring them out with proper distinctness, and to declare before God and the world, that if any of the States will inaugurate a system of emancipation, we will gladly assist them in the work. The delegate from Nashville asserted, that a change in public sentiment had taken place in the South on the question of Slavery—that the people in the section, whence he came, felt that these troubles were caused by Slavery; that they were for the Union, and, if he had been a secessionist, he could not have remained Pastor of his congregation. In reference to the Synod not expressing an opinion on the subject of Slavery, a Church was not worth calling a Church, if it could not fearlessly express its whole opinion on this subject. In these times it was the imperative duty of the Church to tell the world what it believes and the sooner the South finds out what it has to do and the sooner the work, which this resolution proposes, is begun the sooner will they commence operations for themselves, and a new era dawn on the Church there.

A Committee, consisting of Prof. Sternberg, Drs. Lintner, Pohlman and Stork, and Hon. H. H. Van Dyke, was appointed to present to the President of the United States a copy of the Resolutions adopted, with the assurance that our fervent prayers would ascend to the God of nations, that he may enjoy the Divine guidance and support in the trying and responsible position, to which Providence had called him.*

*We give a notice of the interview of the Committee with the Executive of the Union, copied from the *National Intelligencer*. It may prove of some interest in future:

"We learn that a Committee of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States were yesterday introduced to the President by the Secretary of State, and communicated the Resolutions of that body. These gentlemen were received with the cordiality characteristic of the Chief Magistrate. Professor Sternberg, of

Resolutions were also adopted, expressive of the Synod's decided disapprobation of those District Synods and minis-

Hartwick Seminary, New York, the Chairman of the Committee, in presenting the resolutions, addressed the President as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:—We have the honor, as a Committee of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States, to present to your Excellency a copy of the preamble and Resolutions in reference to the state of the country, adopted by that body at its late session in the city of Lancaster, Pa. We are further charged to assure you that our fervent prayers shall ascend to the God of nations, that divine guidance and support may be vouchsafed to you in the trying and responsible position to which a benignant Providence has called you. With your permission the Rev. Dr. Pohlman, of Albany, N. Y., will briefly express to you the sentiments which animated the Committee and the Church, they represent, in view of the present crisis in our national affairs.

The Rev. Dr. Pohlman, of Albany, N. Y., in his speech, alluded to the fact that the late session of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, at Lancaster, was the first that had been held since the troubles in our country commenced; that the General Synod represents twenty-seven District Synods, scattered over the Middle, Western and Southern States, from twenty-two of which delegates were in attendance; that from the States in rebellion no delegates were present, except one from Tennessee, who had, in praying for the President, avoided arrest only in consequence of the fact, that he conducted divine service in the German language, the vernacular of many in the Lutheran Church. He further expressed his deep conviction that we were greatly indebted for the degree of success that has crowned the efforts of the Government in quelling the Rebellion to the prayers of Christians, and concluded by invoking the divine benediction to rest on the President and on our beloved country.

The President replied to the Committee as follows:

GENTLEMEN:—I welcome here the representatives of the Evangelical Lutherans of the United States. I accept with gratitude their assurances of the sympathy and support of that enlightened, influential and loyal class of my fellow citizens in an important crisis, which involves, in my judgment, not only the civil and religious liberties of our own dear land, but in a large degree the civil and religious liberties of mankind in many countries and through many ages. You well know, gentlemen, and the world knows, how reluctantly I accepted this issue of battle forced upon me, on my advent to this place, by the internal enemies of our country. You all know, the world knows the forces and the resources the public agents, brought into employment to sustain a government, against which there has been brought not one complaint of real injury committed against society, at home or abroad. You all may recollect that in taking up the sword thus forced into our hands, this Government appealed to the prayers of the pious and the good, and declared that it placed its whole dependence upon the favor of God. I now humbly and reverently, in your presence, reiterate the acknowledgment of that dependence, not doubting that, if it shall please the Divine Being who determines the destinies of nations, that this shall remain a united people, they will, humbly seeking the divine guidance, make their prolonged national existence a source of new benefits to themselves and their successors, and to all classes and conditions of mankind."

ters, heretofore connected with us, in the open and active co-operation which they have given to treason and insurrection ; also of its deep sympathy with our people in the Southern States, who, in the maintenance of the proper Christian loyalty, have been compelled to suffer persecution and wrong, and its hope of their speedy deliverance and restoration to our Christian and ecclesiastical fellowship.

The African Mission.

This Mission is located in the territory of Liberia on the St. Paul's river, thirty miles inland from Monrovia, the capital of the country, and has been conducted with intelligence, economy and success. The Missionaries have under their care and training a family of thirty-eight Congo children, who were liberated at Monrovia from captured slaves, brought into port. They are clothed and fed by the Mission and are required to work a certain portion of each day. The instructions in the School are in English. A number of the children already read ; they have made very encouraging progress and seem readily to adopt habits of civilization. Rev. M. Officer is the Superintendent of this Mission, to whose unremitting zeal and efficient efforts its past success, under God, is due. Rev. H. Heigerd and his wife have been associated with him in the work. The Synod listened with much gratification to the highly encouraging Report of the Committee, presented by Rev. Dr. Harrison, and passed a resolution, earnestly inviting the attention of our people to this Mission, in the present peculiar juncture of our National affairs. It was determined to reinforce the Mission this fall, and at the request of the Committee who, from the beginning, have had charge of the Mission, its management has been transferred to the Executive Committee of our Foreign Missionary Society.

Pastors' Fund.

The Trustees of this Fund are now permanently organized with the prospects of a useful career. Since the last meeting of the General Synod an act of incorporation has been secured in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, contributions have been received into the Treasury from various sources, and appropriations made, at various times, for the relief of disabled ministers, their widows and orphans. The District Synods are urged to appropriate

an annual amount to this beneficent object, so that the Fund may steadily increase and the interest alone be used in answer to applications from all parts of the Church. The present Trustees are Rev. B. Keller, Isaac Sulger, Rev. E. W. Hutter, L. L. Houpt, Rev. G. F. Krotel and W. M. Heyl.

Liturgy.

At the commencement of the session, a copy of the Pennsylvania Synod's English Liturgy was presented for examination, which was referred to a Committee, who subsequently made a Report, highly commending the work for its many excellencies, but suggesting, in consequence of differences of opinion, that the same be not urged on the General Synod for adoption. The subject elicited an interesting discussion, in which Rev. G. F. Krotel, Dr. Schmucker, Rev. M. Valentine, Dr. Stork, Rev. B. M. Schmucker, and others participated, and was finally disposed of by the appointment of a Committee, consisting of one from each delegation, represented in the Convention, with instructions to propose a Liturgy for the use of our Churches, at the next Convention of the General Synod. The gentlemen composing the Committee are J. G. Morris, D. D., S. S. Schmucker, D. D., G. A. Lintner, D. D., H. N. Pohlman, D. D., S. Yingling, M. Valentine, W. H. Harrison, D. D., S. Sprecher, D. D., J. Crouse, Prof. B. C. Suesserott, J. A. Kunkelman, G. F. Krotel, S. W. Harkey, D. D., W. A. Passavant, D. D., B. Pope, W. G. Harter, D. H. Focht, H. Wells, Prof. H. Eggers, Prof. A. M. Geiger, B. Kurtz, D. D., and J. H. Barclay.

Hymn Book.

The Synod resolved to adhere to the rule, already established, according to which the control and management of the publication of the Hymn Book and other books of the General Synod and the power to contract for the publication of the several editions of the same, on terms most advantageous to the Synod, are entrusted to the Hymn Book Committee. The Committee, selected by the Convention for the ensuing two years, is composed of Isaac Sulger, J. J. Cochran, Dr. D. Luther, H. B. Ashmead and Martin Buehler. The propriety of taking, at this meeting, the incipient steps towards presenting to the churches a Hymn Book, worthy of the high Hymnological character and position of the Lutheran Church, having been suggested, it was resolved that, at the present

time, it is inexpedient to make any change in the General Synod's Hymn Book. A Committee, consisting of S. S. Schmucker, D. D., C. W. Schaeffer, D. D. and Rev. D. H. Focht, was appointed to examine carefully into the character and merits of the German Hymn Book, compiled by a Joint Committee of several District Synods, with the view of the General Synod recommending its use to the churches and of securing a proper portion of the net profits, resulting from the sale of the Book.

Sunday School Herald.

Rev. M. Valentine presented a Report from the Committee on the memorial of the Board of Publication, earnestly commending the *Sunday School Herald* to the patronage of the whole Church, and asking all our ministers and Sabbath Schools to make renewed and more vigorous efforts to extend its circulation. The excellent character and attractive appearance of the paper, in the judgment of Synod, render it worthy of the general and cordial support of our people.

Carmina Ecclesiae.

Professor Sternberg, from the Committee to whom this work was submitted for examination, reported favorably. It was represented as containing a larger amount of the choicest Church music and particularly of pieces, adapted to the wants of the Lutheran Church, than any similar book. The publisher was authorized to use the *imprimatur* of the General Synod, and for the privilege he proposes to pay a *bonus* to Synod.

Lutheran Synod in Canada.

Dr. Schaeffer gave notice that he would, at the next meeting of the General Synod, propose a change in the Constitution so as to read in the First and Second Articles "*and adjacent countries,*" immediately after the words "*United States.*" The design of this proposition is to allow the Synod, recently organized in Canada, the opportunity of making application for admission into the General Synod. In the meantime, in accordance with the suggestion made by Rev. D. Garver, as Chairman of a Committee on a communication relating to the subject, it was proposed that a correspondence and interchange of delegates be maintained.

From recent statistics it appears that the Lutheran population has increased from 12,107 in 1852, to 25,156 in 1862, thus more than doubling itself in ten years. Of this number there are 857 in Lower Canada and 24,229 in Upper Canada. In Upper Canada they form nearly two per cent. of the whole population. The increase is mainly from Foreign emigration and this is rapidly increasing from year to year. What an interesting field of labor this is, and what strong claims does it present for Missionary effort !

Death of Rev. G. J. Kempe.

Rev. Dr. Miller, from the Committee appointed to prepare a minute on the death of this brother who had been chosen a delegate to this body from the New York Ministerium, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That while we feel deeply the loss, sustained in the afflictive Providence by the family and congregation of our deceased brother Kempe, as well as by the Lutheran Church at large, of which he was an exemplary and esteemed minister, we would humbly acquiesce in the appointments of our Lord, who knows the best time to call His servants to their rest.

Resolved, That we would express our heartfelt sympathy with the bereaved family, fervently praying, that He who has inflicted this wound would mercifully support them under it, and be their all sufficient good and their present help in every time of need.

Parent Education Society

held its regular meeting and transacted its usual business. In the Report of the Corresponding Secretary interesting facts were presented, connected with the subject of Beneficiary Education. It was stated, that there are in the various Institutions of learning and religion in the Church about six hundred young men, hopefully pious, the major part of whom are in the various stages of preparation for the Gospel ministry. Of these nearly three hundred are aided by the contributions of the Church. The annual accessions to the ministry are estimated at not less than fifty. The Report suggests additional checks and cautions for the purpose of preventing mistakes in the selection of proper subjects to be aided by the funds of the Church. If a young

man were required to sustain himself for a time, until he had made some progress in study, it would furnish additional security against self-deception and a guarantee of his sincerity. Besides, no one should be received upon the funds of the Church who, in addition to undoubted evidences of personal piety, is not well acquainted with the doctrines and usages of the Church and does not cordially approve them. Greater care must be exercised in this matter. No one should be received on these sacred funds, before his character is formed or his principles determined. A Committee, consisting of Dr. Schmucker, Dr. Baugher, C. A. Morris and J. J. Cochran, was appointed to revise the Constitution of the Society and to procure an act of incorporation. At the anniversary celebration appropriate addresses were delivered by Drs. Diehl, Harkey and Kurtz.

Foreign Missionary Society.

The Report of the Executive Committee refers to the death of Dr. Baker, the late President of the Society, whose deep interest was always manifested in the cause of Missions; also to that of Dr. Eichelberger, one of the Vice-Presidents, and of Rev. William E. Snyder, our late Missionary at Guntoor, who fell with his armor on in the strength of his manhood and the vigor of usefulness. The Report also gives a detailed account of our Missionary operations in India. The Mission is represented, as having been visited with many tokens of the Divine favor, since the last meeting of the Society. The Schools are prosperous and increasing in size and number. There are frequent applications for Baptism and several young natives are preparing for the ministry. There are connected with the Mission eight congregations, eight Missionaries, (four of them ordained ministers, Rev. F. A. Heise, Rev. C. W. Gronning, Rev. Adam Long and Rev. E. Unangst,) two Catechists and two Colporters. Prospects for increased usefulness are presented and we are urged to take possession of the field. Some fifteen or twenty additional stations, under the most favorable influences, could be established, if the Mission were re-enforced. Are there not in the Church young men, who will respond to the Macedonian cry, "*Come over and help us?*" A memorial, on behalf of the Pittsburg Synod, was read by Rev. D. Garver, in regard to the importance of our Church establishing a Mission in China. The subject elicited an interesting and

earnest discussion, in which Drs. Pohlman, Miller, Stork, Hay, Passavant, Sternberg and others took part. Rev. Robert Neumann, who, for five years, labored as a Missionary among the Chinese, presented many encouraging facts relative to the work in that portion of the Pagan world and Rev. A. H. Myers, of California, made some interesting statements with regard to the condition and wants of the forty thousand Chinese in that region of our country. The Society with great unanimity adopted a resolution, expressive of its belief that the Lord in his Providence is directing our Church in this country to this important and promising field of labor, and our duty to obey the Divine call. The Executive Committee were instructed to arrange the preliminaries for a Mission among the Chinese, to seek out suitable laborers, and by loud and repeated calls to awaken the Church to a realizing sense of her obligations to Christ and his cause. In the evening the anniversary exercises were held, and interesting addresses delivered by Revs. J. Z. Senderling, J. L. Schock, W. A. Passavant and C. F. Heyer.

Home Missionary Society.

An effort was made at the meeting of this Society to introduce such changes, as will enlist the whole Church in the work and give increased efficiency to home evangelization. The Executive Committee were instructed to appoint several travelling Missionaries to labor in the Far West, and the different Missionary Societies of the District Synods, earnestly requested to become auxiliary to the Home Missionary Society of the General Synod. The Report of the Corresponding Secretary shows that forty-eight Missionaries in feeble and destitute places, principally in the more Western States, have received aid from the Society since the last report; thirty-one of these are now self-sustaining. At night the anniversary was celebrated, and earnest addresses delivered by Drs. Kurtz and Stork, and Revs. J. G. Butler and A. H. Myers.

Church Extension Society.

This Society with Charles A. Morris, who has presided over its interests from the organization, in the Chair, transacted its regular business. From the Report of the Executive Committee, it appears that the entire fund amounts to nearly twelve thousand dollars. Of this sum nearly ten

thousand dollars have been loaned to assist congregations in the erection of houses of worship. Notwithstanding many discouragements, the Society has been the instrument of much good in extending important aid to destitute congregations, and with the proper assistance may be made, in a still greater degree, useful.

Publication Society.

This Society, which was organized in 1855, has now become a permanent Institution of the Church and promises a useful career. The report of the Corresponding Secretary presents a detailed account of the origin and gradual growth of the Society and of its present operations. Rev. B. Keller, the venerable Agent, who has been so indefatigable and successful in his labors, has received subscriptions, amounting to nearly seventeen thousand dollars. Of this sum between fifteen and sixteen thousand dollars have been paid into the Treasury. A three-story brick edifice has been purchased, as a Depository. The Books and Tracts, issued by the Board, have been favorably received, and others are in progress of publication. A Sunday School paper is monthly issued, and the enterprise is meeting with encouraging success. Rev. F. W. Conrad delivered on the occasion of the Society's anniversary an able and effective address on the claims of this Institution upon the sympathies and patronage of the whole Church.

Historical Society.

Some interesting statements in reference to the condition and wants of the Society were presented by the President, Dr. Schmucker, and the regular discourse, according to previous appointment, was delivered by Professor Stoeper, on the Patriarchal Fathers of the Lutheran Church in this country from Halle. The various Reports were read by the Corresponding Secretary, Professor Muhlenberg, from which it appears that the Society is making progress in the direction for which it was established. Dr. Morris was selected, as Principal, and Dr. Stork, as Alternate, to deliver the biennial discourse, at the next Convention of the General Synod.

Adjournment of Synod.

The Synod, after voting thanks to the Lutheran congregations and other Christian friends of Lancaster for their kind

hospitality, to the several Railroad Companies for the favors extended to the members, to the brethren who reported the proceedings of the body for the press, and to the officers of the Synod for their faithful services, adjourned to meet again in York, Pa., on the First Thursday of May, 1864. The President delivered a parting address, and the Synod closed its sessions with the usual devotional exercises. The members separated with good feeling and with the regret that the relations, which had, for several consecutive days, so pleasantly existed, were to be terminated.

ARTICLE VI.

THE CRUSADES.

By G. A. LINTNER, D. D., Schoharie, N. Y.

HISTORY presents a dark picture of the state of society during the middle ages, and yet there is perhaps no period distinguished for more important changes, especially when we consider their influence in opening the way for the subsequent improvements in the condition of the human race. After the dissolution of the Roman Empire in the sixth century, it was divided into a number of separate Provinces, which laid the foundation of the modern kingdoms of Europe. The dismembered parts of the Empire were distributed among the nations who had conquered them. The Saxons took possession of Britain, Gaul was occupied by the Franks, Spain by the Moors, Germany by the Goths, Switzerland by the Helvetii, and Italy after having been ravaged by successive hordes of barbarians, ultimately fell into the hands of the Lombards. These invaders subverted the political institutions of the Roman Empire, and introduced another form of government, called the *Feudal System*. Under this system, the kingdoms were divided into smaller principalities, which were governed by *Barons*, or *Noblemen*, who exercised absolute authority over their several districts. The inhabitants of the baronial districts were at the entire disposal of the lords, who governed them. They held their subjects by

the same tenure, which entitled them to their lands, and in case of war, or private feud, in which their landlords might be engaged, the tenants were obliged to render them such military service, as they might require. The nobility were subject to the king, and upon his requisition, they were bound to furnish him with a number of their dependants, to assist him in his military operations. The Feudal System was more of a military establishment, than a civil compact for the government of a rude and turbulent people. It was chiefly designed to aid the nobility in the wars, in which they were almost continually engaged against each other. These nobles, whose estates lay contiguous to each other, frequently came into collision, and then these petty feuds were most generally decided by bloody combats between the tenants. The barons lived in castles strongly fortified, to resist the attacks of their enemies. During the time when the Feudal System prevailed in England, it is estimated, that there were 1,000 such castles in that kingdom alone. The aristocracy lived in splendor, they rolled in wealth and luxury, while the common people, the cultivators of the soil, the peasantry, as they were called, were treated as slaves. They had no laws to protect them against the oppressions and violence of their rulers. They were considered as mere appendages to the soil, and transferred from one proprietor to another, as interest and policy might dictate. Under this system, all the protection and security, which the Roman Government had afforded its citizens, vanished. Literature and the arts declined. Ignorance and barbarism prevailed among the lower orders, and even among the higher classes of society, there were but few noted for education and refinement. The morals of the people partook so much of the prevailing character and tendencies of the age, that the restraints against vice, and inducements for virtuous conduct were nearly extinguished, and there was nothing left to stimulate men to honorable action, but the ambition to cultivate those sterner qualities, which are applauded among fierce and warlike nations. Christianity had degenerated into a mere form, and although it was still regarded by the multitude with superstitious reverence, it had lost its power on their hearts and lives. Power was substituted for right. Violence was the ruling spirit of the times, and a returning barbarism prevailed over the refinements of civilized society.

Such was the condition of Europe in the eleventh century, the darkest period in the history of the world. It was during this period, while the Feudal System was in full operation, that events occurred, which produced a radical and entire change in the system, and restored to society that order and government, of which it had been so long deprived. Among those events, none exerted so important an influence, as those holy wars, which were carried on by Christian nations against the Turks and Infidels with but little intermission for the space of 175 years. We propose in this article to speak of the *origin* and *progress* of these wars, and point out some of the most important *changes*, which they produced in the moral and political condition of the world.

The Crusades were a violent and extravagant attempt to subdue the enemies of Christianity by the sword; an attempt, so utterly inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel, that we find it difficult to conceive, how Christians of any age could be induced to engage in such an enterprise. And yet there was something in the character of the Crusades, that was congenial to the spirit of the times. They grew out of the superstitious veneration for shrines and relics, which at that dark period, almost universally pervaded the religious mind. They were military expeditions, organized by the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Europe for the conquest of Palestine, and the expulsion of Infidels from the Holy Land. Palestine was wrested from the hands of Christians about the close of the seventh Century by the Saracens, a warlike people, who originally inhabited Arabia, and spread their conquests through many of the neighboring nations. They were subsequently conquered by the Turks, who gained possession of Jerusalem, and the sacred places, to which thousands of Christians from Europe, were accustomed to resort in their yearly pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The Turks were Mohammedans, and used their power in depriving the pilgrims of the privileges, which they had formerly enjoyed under their Christian rulers. They treated their Christian subjects with contempt, shut them out from their temples of worship, and in many places subjected them to harassing and cruel persecutions.

In the reign of *Charlemagne*, during the ninth century, Jerusalem was recovered from the Infidels, and there was a temporary suspension of the persecutions, which Christians had suffered from these Mohammedan rulers. But it was only a short relief. The Turks soon regained their power,

and with it resumed those restrictions and persecutions, by which Christians had been formerly harassed. The Pilgrims on their return from the Holy Land, gave exaggerated and greivous accounts of the treatment they had received from their persecutors, which excited general sympathy for the sufferers, and a spirit of indignation against their oppressors. To expel these Infidels from the Holy Land and City, which they had wrested from the primitive Christians, was represented as an object, demanding the united efforts of Christendom. To accomplish this object, an appeal was made to the superstitious and fanatical spirit of the age. Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, Mount Calvary and the Garden of Gethsemane, those sacred spots, where the Saviour had lived, suffered, and died, and now desetrated by his enemies, were held up to the excited imagination of the superstitious multitude to stimulate their zeal in the holy cause.

Peter the Hermit, an itinerant French Priest, whose zeal, in the language of a distinguished historian, "made up for his lack of knowledge," was the prime mover in the great enterprize. Pretending to have received a special commission from Heaven, he ran from place to place, with a crucifix in his hands, calling upon the people to take up arms in the holy war. By his enthusiastic ardor and fiery zeal, he raised a commotion, which spread like wild fire over the continent of Europe. *Urban II.*, who then occupied the Papal chair gave his sanction to the project and supported it with all his authority and influence. He convened a Council at *Placentia*, a city in Italy, in the year 1095, to recommend the plan, and urge its faithful execution upon the rulers and people under his spiritual jurisdiction. This Council, which consisted of 4,000 ecclesiastics, and 30,000 laymen, met in the open air, because there was no building sufficient to contain them. The assembly acceded to the proposal, and gave it all the force of a recommendation from the high civil and ecclesiastical functionaries, of which it was composed.

But even this was found insufficient to raise the energies of the people for the successful prosecution of the war. It was deemed necessary to call another Council, which convened the same year at *Clermont*, a French town, and which was attended by the Pope, and a vast concourse of princes, and nobles, and people from all parts of Europe. At this Council, the multitude became so excited by the exhorta-

tions of the Hermit, and other speakers, that they cried out with one accord, and as if moved by a supernatural impulse, "Let us march; it is the will of God, it is the will of God."

This enthusiastic exclamation became the watchword, with which thousands rallied round the standard of the Cross, and went forth to battle. Persons of all ranks, pursuits, and occupations in life, were carried away with the general excitement. Princes, nobles, bishops, ministers, soldiers and peasants, marched together, to swell the lists of combatants, an army of 800,000 men was raised for the first Crusade in 1096. This formidable host was marshalled under Christian banners for the extermination of Infidels; and they were all ready to conquer or die in the attempt. They were prepared for the holy enterprize by a solemn and religious consecration. Each officer and soldier wore on his shoulder a badge of the Cross, green red and white, to distinguish the corps into which the army was divided, and from this circumstance is derived the name *Crusades*, given to all these expeditions in this holy war.

The enterprize was at first successful, though it was attended with heavy losses and sacrifices. It is estimated, that 300,000 men perished in the first expedition which was led on by *Godfrey of Bouillon* and the *Hermit*. The army reached Palestine, Jerusalem was taken and *Godfrey*, the leader of the Christian hosts, was declared King of Jerusalem. The banner of the Cross waved on Mount Zion. The Holy Land was rescued out of the hands of Infidels and a Christian government established in the cities and provinces, consecrated by the blood and sufferings of the Redeemer.

But notwithstanding the success which attended this expedition, the Crusades proved an entire failure in the end. History furnishes us with the details of at least eight successive Crusades, which kept Europe in almost a constant state of commotion for nearly two centuries. Numerous and powerful armies succeeded each other in the holy wars. Large bodies of recruits had to be furnished, and immense sums of money raised to sustain them in distant lands, far from home, surrounded by warlike nations, who massacred them as fast as they could be sent. Historians inform us, that no less than 2,000,000 of the population of Europe were sacrificed during the wars of the Crusades, and still before the expiration of the thirteenth

century, the Crusaders were driven out from their possessions and conquests in the East which they had gained by the sacrifice of so many lives, and at such an enormous expense. After the Christian monarchs of Europe had exhausted all their powers and resources in this unprofitable contest, they were obliged to abandon it in despair. Their military expeditions, some of which were headed by themselves, were scattered and destroyed. *Frederick* the Emperor of Germany, *Louis* king of France, and *Mary* Queen of Hungary, died in the field, and the gallant *Richard*, king of England, returned to wear out his life in captivity, and meet an early death; 60,000 Crusaders, including 40 Earls, and 500 Barons, were massacred by the Turks in one City, and the walls of another were covered with Christian heads as a trophy of the bloody triumph of their barbarous enemies. Such a disastrous termination of the Crusades seems strange, when we look at the preparations that were made for them and the power and resources that were employed in their prosecution; but the result is not surprising, when we consider the *character* of the enterprise, and the *manner* in which it was conducted.

The Crusades, as already remarked, commenced in a dark age, an age, characterized by the most deplorable ignorance and superstition. There were men in that age, elevated to the highest places of dignity both in the Church and State, princes, noblemen, and bishops, who could not sign their names to the papers and documents, which in the performance of their official duties, it became necessary for them to subscribe. They affixed the sign of the Cross, instead of writing their names. Hence originated the custom of illiterate persons making their mark in the form of a cross to obligations or contracts, in order to give them legal effect. It is a custom derived from the dark ages, the times of the Crusades, when the Cross was used as a sacred emblem, to bind men to the due performance of their engagements and promises.

So universal and profound was the ignorance of the people, that they placed implicit confidence in the clergy, who controlled them in all their secular and ecclesiastical affairs. The priests exercised this power over the people, by operating on their superstitious feelings. They invented fables, marvellous stories, and fictitious miracles, to work on their fears and prejudices, and when they wished to engage them in any project, however irreligious and impious, they presented it in

a religious aspect. They used their spiritual influence in driving the people into every measure which they proposed, and when they found it necessary, they could add the language of authority to that of persuasion, they could join anathemas to entreaties, and follow up the thunders of the Church with the terrors of the sword. The civil powers were controlled by the ecclesiastical authorities. Kings were governed by popes and bishops, and this unnatural supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the civil powers, upheld and supported by the ignorance and superstition of the people, gave rise to the Crusades.

Louis, the king of France, during a fit of sickness supposed that he heard a voice commanding him to shed the blood of Infidels, and he was so operated upon by his superstitious feelings, that he made a vow to engage in the Crusades. *Tyrrel*, a French Knight, who unintentionally killed *William*, the king of England, in a hunting excursion, by an arrow which had glanced against a tree, fled from the ground, and hastened to France to join the Crusade, that he might render some satisfaction for this act. *Stephen*, the Earl of *Blois*, who was engaged in the holy wars, in a letter to his wife, speaks of the Crusades, as the chosen army of Christ, as the servants of the Most High, marching under his immediate protection and led by His hand. He represents the Turks and Infidels as accursed, sacrilegious, reprobates, devoted by heaven to destruction, and he felt confident that the souls of Christian soldiers, who were killed in the holy wars, would immediately ascend to the joys of Paradise. These instances of superstitious and extravagant devotion, which prevailed at the time of the Crusades, show the *character* of the enterprize. They indicate the spirit of the times, and enable us to form some idea of the rush of enthusiasm, which brought together such immense multitudes to carry out the schemes of their spiritual rulers.

It was supposed by many who entered the Crusades, that the *Day of Judgment* was near, and that Christ was about to *reappear* in the Holy Land, to admit his followers into his Heavenly kingdom. This strange delusion had seized so strangely on the minds of Christians, that thousands forsook their possessions, abandoned their friends, and volunteered their services in the army of the Crusaders, that they might be found among the number of happy pilgrims, whom the King of Zion would acknowledge and receive, on his second

appearance in Jerusalem. In this expectation, however, they were sadly disappointed. Instead of the joy of meeting their Lord, and entering into His glory, they had the mortification of falling into the hands of his enemies, by whom most of them were barbarously murdered.

Others were induced to enlist in the holy wars, by the *extraordinary privileges and immunities held out to them*. The pope promised a full pardon and indulgence to those, who assumed the badge of the Cross, for all offences which they had committed, or might still commit. The Crusaders were exempted, by a papal decree, from the payment of all debts and all legal prosecutions, while engaged in the war. Their persons and property were placed under the protection of the Holy Catholic Church, and all persons were forbidden in any way, to molest or injure them, on pain of excommunication. The leaders in these expeditions resorted to every expedient to swell the number of their followers. They appealed to the military spirit of the age, to the spirit of avarice, the passions for plunder, and the love of conquest. The effect was, the prison doors were opened, the jails were emptied, and convicts and criminals, flocked to the standard of the Cross, that they might escape the punishment which justice demanded for their crimes. The very dregs of society were drawn into the holy enterprize, an enterprize, which was considered so meritorious that it entitled the most disreputable and debased criminals to the highest honors. If they succeeded, they had the promise of a rich reward in the spoils that might fall into their hands, and the glory which they would derive from the conquest of their enemies. If they perished, they were assured, that as the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, they would secure the crown of martyrdom.

These strong inducements held out to operate on the superstitious and mercenary feelings of the multitude, and it is not at all surprising, that thousands and hundreds of thousands were ready to precipitate themselves into these disastrous wars, without considering the consequences.

Another consideration showing the character of the Crusades, is, that they were *instigated and encouraged by the Roman Pontiffs and the Catholic clergy, to add to the wealth and power of the Papal See*. This fact has been questioned by some, who have endeavored to show, that the pope was not the originator of the first Crusade, and that the clergy generally had been opposed to it, as an impolitic and hazard-

ous undertaking; still it does appear from history, that they were the earliest and the most zealous supporters of a project, from which they expected to reap many advantages. Neither were they disappointed in these expectations. The Crusades brought immense treasures into the Church, which could not have been obtained in any other way. Among the Crusaders were knights, bishops, abbots, monks and priests, who possessed immense wealth. Before they assumed the Cross, and girded on the sword, they made their wills, and disposed of their property for the benefit of the Church, and priests, to whose prayers and supplications they committed themselves. They seemed to think, that they could secure the favor of heaven, by leaving their property to churches and monasteries after their decease. In this way, immense sums of money flowed into the coffers of the Romish See. We have examples of these donations and bequests, preserved in ancient Records to show, how the religious enthusiasm, which occasioned these wars, was made subservient to the selfish purposes of a corrupt and profligate priesthood. By such means the Romish Church has enriched herself. She has gained most of her wealth and power by deception and fraud, and the money which she has thus drawn from the pockets of her people, she has used in her bloody Crusades against civil and religious liberty.

When we look into the origin and character of the holy wars, with all their professed zeal for religion, we can discover but little of the true spirit of enlightened Christianity. And we see still less of this spirit in the *manner* they were conducted. The forces, employed in these military expeditions to the Holy Land, were collected from various countries and provinces, differing in their languages, dispositions and habits. They met together in bands, without that union, order, and arrangement, which are necessary in all military expeditions. Each corps had its separate commander, and many of the leaders were as inexperienced in war, and regardless of military discipline, as the multitude that followed them. The officers and soldiers were alike unprepared for the practical duties, and successful prosecution of the great enterprize in which they had engaged. They were thrown together in a promiscuous assemblage of desperate adventurers, without the requisite wisdom and government, to direct them in their movements. Many of them were brave, fearless, and eager for the conflict, but they had not calculated on the reverses and losses, which they

might meet in so perilous a contest. They had not provided themselves with the necessary means of subsistence for such an immense army. It is even said, that they depended on miracles, for the supply of their wants, during their march to the Holy Land. The consequence was, they plundered the inhabitants of the district through which they passed, and so excessive were the robberies and depredations which they committed on the way, that in many places, the people rose up and massacred most of them, before they reached their destination. A Roman Catholic historian (*Father Maimbourg*) who justifies the war, and eulogizes those engaged in it, still admits, that some portions of the army "committed the most abominable enormities in the countries through which they passed, and that there was no kind of insolence, injustice and barbarity, of which they were not guilty."

The cruelties, committed by these holy warriors, marshalled under the banner of the Cross, are a standing reproach to Christianity. In *Bavaria* they massacred 12,000 Jews, and persecuted them in a similar manner in other parts of Germany. When they took Jerusalem they murdered the garrison, and the inhabitants who had not embraced the Christian faith. They covered the streets of the city with heaps of the slain, and drenched them in blood, after their enemies had ceased to resist, and having done all this, they laid aside their weapons, dripping with the blood of their slaughtered victims, and marched bare-footed to the Holy Sepulchre, to return thanks, and sing anthems of praise to the Prince of Peace. How must those devout worshippers have appeared in the eyes of Him, who hath said, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice."

The Crusaders had doubtless received many provocations to excite their indignation against the enemies and persecutors of their religion, but all the injuries and provocations they had ever suffered, could not justify the ferocious and barbarous spirit which they evinced in that war. Their only object seemed to be, to shed the blood of infidels, and if possible exterminate the race. In their furious zeal for religion, they lost all feeling and regard for humanity. Like their adversaries the Mohammedans, they spread their religion with fire and sword. They were even more intolerant and cruel than their Infidel antagonists, who after they had vanquished the Crusaders, suffered many of them to remain unmolested in the countries, which they had invaded. It is

supposed by many, that the *Druzees*, a savage, warlike race, inhabiting Mount Lebanon, have descended from some of the Crusaders, who remained in Palestine, subject to the Turkish government, after the holy wars. If this be so, we have still some of the effects of the Crusades visible in our day; and from these remnants brought down to us, however much they may have degenerated, we may form some idea of their original character.

After all the *evils* caused by the Crusades, it must be admitted, that they were followed by some *good results*. Although they cannot be justified on any principle of reason, or religion, and caused many injuries and crimes, still in the overruling Providence of God, they were the means of effecting important changes, which ultimately proved beneficial to society. While we see much evil in their *immediate effects*, we can also discover many benefits in their *remote consequences*. Such is the power and wisdom of the Great Creator, and the wonderful government of His Providence, that He can bring light out of darkness, and order out of confusion. Of this great truth the Crusades exhibit a remarkable illustration. They were commenced, as we have already observed, in the darkest period of the history of Europe. Under the policy of the Feudal System, the people had been reduced to a most degraded state of ignorance and vassalage. All the knowledge and refinement, which the Romans had introduced, by cultivating a taste for literature, and the arts, had disappeared. There were no books for diffusing knowledge among the people. A few works, written in manuscript, were so expensive, that not one in a thousand could purchase them. There were but few institutions for the encouragement of learning. The highest and most responsible stations in life were filled by the most illiterate persons; and the great mass of the people were so ignorant, that they had no taste nor inclination for any improvement in their social condition. The Crusades opened the way for a more liberal and enlightened system of Government. They abolished the Feudal System, restrained the usurpations of arbitrary powers, favored popular institutions, encouraged the love of freedom, and thus contributed to the elevation and happiness of the people.

In their military expeditions, the Crusaders met with opportunities and facilities for improvement, which they had never possessed. Rude and barbarous, as most of them were, they were still not insensible to the attractive influence of

the more enlightened and polished nations, with whom they came into communication. In their travels to the Holy Land, they mingled with the cultivated society of Italy, the enlightened population of Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Constantinople, and from their intercourse with people, so far superior to them in knowledge and improvement, they gained information and improvement for themselves. From the Greeks they derived a taste for literature, enlightened views of government, and the love of liberty. In Asia, they were interested in the works of antiquity, displaying the riches of oriental magnificence, and diffusing an elevating and refining influence over the mind. As they made these new discoveries, and came under these higher and nobler influences, their views and feelings were enlarged, and they determined to gratify their newly acquired taste for the comforts and embellishments of civilized society. Consequently, on their return to their own countries, they commenced those improvements in agriculture, commerce, manufactures and the arts and sciences, which gradually wrought out an entire change in their political and social system. They entered into regular communication with the more civilized nations around them. Their ships visited every city and country, where they could exchange their commodities for the comforts and luxuries of life, and thus they laid the foundation of that commercial intercourse, which is carried on between nations. The Crusaders commenced this intercourse, and by their successors it was reduced to a regular system and has now become established by the concurrence of all the civilized nations of the earth.

The Crusades exerted a most favorable influence in *establishing the rights of property, and the security, which is derived from the regular and faithful administration of justice.* Under the Feudal System, communities were subject to the arbitrary will of the lord who governed them. But in consequence of the Crusades, in which many of the nobility engaged, they were obliged to sell their possessions and titles, to raise money for their outfit and support in these expeditions. Many cities and towns, which were held in vassalage by these petty tyrants, took advantage of this circumstance to purchase their freedom, and the right to govern themselves. Thus originated the right which, the civil government grants to corporations and free communities, of governing themselves by

their representatives. This is one of the good effects of the Crusades, and it is an important result, when we consider its influence, in promoting the industry, intelligence, and virtue of the people, securing the uniform and impartial administration of the laws against offences, and in preserving the peace and happiness of the community where this right is properly exercised.

Another beneficial result of the Crusades was to *abolish* the barbarous custom of *judicial combats*, and prescribe a regular legal mode of proceedings for the settlement of controversies. One of the greatest calamities brought upon civilized society by the destruction of the Roman Empire, was the loss of that system of jurisprudence, by which it had so long been governed. The barbarians abolished the laws and institutions, which they found in the countries which they overran, and substituted, in their place, customs and rules, more congenial to their own rude notions and fierce and warlike dispositions. When a man felt himself injured, either in person, or property, he sought redress at the point of the sword. His adversary met him in the same spirit, and the difficulty had to be decided by a combat between the parties at issue. The victor gained the right, and the vanquished party had to submit, without any further appeal. On some occasions, persons accused of crimes were required to plunge their arms in boiling water, or lift red hot irons, or walk barefooted on burning ploughshares. These tortures were considered unerring tests of innocence or guilt, and if the accused could pass through the ordeal unharmed, they stood acquitted, by what was regarded as the judgment of heaven. These barbarous customs were discountenanced and gradually abolished by the effects of the Crusades. The leading Crusaders, in their intercourse with more enlightened nations, became convinced of the unreasonableness of attempting to secure the ends of justice, by a resort to such ordeals and on their return to their own countries, introduced laws and institutions more consistent with reason and the spirit of Christianity. Thus the laws and regulations, which lay buried under the ruins of the Roman Empire for ages, were re-established, and became the basis, from which all the modern civilized governments have derived their jurisprudence.

Among the good effects of the Crusades, we would also notice the institution of *chivalry*. The perilous adventures

in which Christians engaged in their expeditions to the Holy Land, and the courage and energy required to face those dangers, drew the attention of many knights, who offered themselves to combat the enemies of Christianity, and aid the Crusaders by their heroic achievements. The order of knighthood was a military order, instituted for protecting the innocent, defending the weak, avenging injuries, and relieving sufferers. Its chief design, was to excite a spirit of emulation among men, in their efforts to gain distinction, by noble and virtuous deeds. No one was admitted to the order, without having previously passed through a rigid course of military discipline, or distinguished himself by valiant or magnanimous conduct. When a candidate was thus prepared, he was admitted by the most solemn ceremonies, in order to impress on his mind, the sacred obligations and responsibilities he assumed. He took the oath of fidelity to his Prince, engaged to defend the faith, protect the fair fame of virtuous ladies, rescue the oppressed at the hazard of his life, and on all occasions, conduct himself according to those principles of honor, which were inculcated by the order. Having entered into these engagements, he received the decorations of the order, the *Spurs, Helmet and Sword*, and then fell at the feet of the officiating knight, who dubbed him, by striking him three times on the shoulder, with the sword, saying, "In the name of God, I make thee a knight; be thou loyal, generous and brave." Such was the order of knighthood. It was an institution, that grew out of the disorder and anarchy of the feudal state. It supplied the place of law in those dark and barbarous times; and it was in consequence of the protection it afforded to the weak and defenceless, against the power of the oppressor, that it was deemed the highest honor to belong to an institution, characterized by such a noble and generous devotion. We have the most thrilling accounts of the daring exploits, performed by the Christian knights, who joined the expeditions to the Holy Land. *Godfrey*, his brother *Baldwin*, and *Tancred*, leaders of the Christian hosts, are names celebrated for their chivalrous conduct. *Richard* king of England, distinguished himself above all his compeers in the holy wars. He was a true knight, whose spirit of gallantry excited even the admiration of his enemies, and particularly of *Saladin* the Saracen leader, his great rival in military prowess and chivalry. During the time of the Crusades, the honors of

knighthood were held in the highest esteem. Chivalry reached its greatest glory in those exciting contests between Christians and Infidels, for the possession of the Holy Land. After the Crusades, the institution began to decline. It was no longer observed as a distinct order, though its effects were still visible in the honors that were paid to the military chieftains, who stood forth as the champions of justice and humanity in more modern times. The elevating and refining influence of chivalry was felt in society, long after the institution had disappeared; and it must be acknowledged, that much of the civility and courtesy, which mark the social intercourse of the present day, are to be attributed to that influence. It has done much to restrain the spirit of selfishness and violence, which has caused so much suffering in the world. It has awakened generous sentiments and kind feelings in the different grades of society towards each other. It has encouraged a spirit of enterprize, and stimulated the minds of men to virtuous and honorable action. It has contributed especially to the elevation and dignity of the female sex. It has placed woman in her proper social position, to claim the protection and command the affections of man, without usurping his place, or thrusting herself out of her sphere.

Finally, the Crusades were productive of good, *in opening the channels of commercial intercourse between nations and promoting the general improvement of the human race.* The conquest of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and other eastern cities and seaports by the Crusaders, opened the way for a regular trade between those cities, and the western parts of Europe, which were engaged in the war. The cities, which furnished the provisions and transports for such immense bodies of men, as were sent out in these expeditions, became so enriched by this lucrative trade, that their wealth flowed into other places, which shared in their commercial prosperity. Between these commercial cities, a constant communication was kept up by navigation, and as their commerce increased and spread, these communications were naturally extended, new channels were continually opened, through which the nations of Europe and Asia exchanged their commodities, and contributed to the general prosperity.

The commercial intercourse, opened by the Crusaders, has contributed more than any other cause, to the rapid advancement of civilization and religion in modern times. For the spread of the Gospel and the diffusion of light and knowledge in so many places, once covered with darkness, we are large-

ly indebted to the spirit of commercial enterprize, which was awakened by the Crusades. This spirit, in connexion with some other causes, to which we have adverted, operated very favorably for the extension of liberal principles. It aided in the dissemination of that knowledge and intelligence, which were necessary to raise the people from that degraded state of servitude, in which they had so long been kept by the tyranny of their rulers, and inspire them with the love of liberty, and the desire for independence. And when the love of liberty was once awakened in the people, it could not be restrained by the mere force of arbitrary power. Kings and nobles had to yield to the demands for popular rights and liberty. Every attempt to quell this spirit, served only to increase its power. It spread over the whole continent of Europe, modified every government, and did not relax in its movements, until it had swept away the entire feudal system, and though the progress of liberal principles was subsequently checked by the intervention of despotic power; that power with its most strenuous efforts, could not entirely extinguish the spirit of liberty, which has reproduced so many favorable changes in modern times.

The democratic principle, the right of the people to govern themselves, has been struggling against the usurpations of kings and despots for ages. It received its first impulse from the Crusades, and ever since has been steadily advancing, and this principle must prevail. Millions of noble hearts, burning with sacred fire, kindled on the altar of liberty, have pledged themselves to its support. The age of chivalry is past, but the *spirit* is not lost. It is again rising up in our day to enter on nobler conquests, than it has ever achieved. The champions of freedom have engaged in a *second* Crusade, to finish the work which was begun in the *first*. They have buckled on their armor, and will not lay it off, until they shall have gained the victory in this great battle for liberty and right.

ARTICLE VII.

THE GREAT COMMANDMENT.

By G. B. MILLER, D. D., Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.

THE first and chief duty of all rational creatures is to love serve and obey the great Creator and Sovereign of all. This lies at the foundation of all true virtue and morality. The history of the world goes to show that, where the worship of God is preserved in its greatest purity, the state of public and private morals is far superior to what will be found, where a general disrespect is manifested towards divine things, or where the worship, such as it is, has been adulterated by human inventions. The character of a nation or of individuals will take its color from the ideas entertained of the Supreme Being and the nature of the worship that is paid Him. And though a degree of exterior refinement may exist in connection with low ideas of God and disrespect to His commands, constant experience abundantly proves that no true, hearty virtue can be looked for under such circumstances.

The brightest characters of the heathen world were stained with blots that would disgrace the most ignorant and feeble Christian. In every country we find, that as religion declines, the public morals degenerate. And we discover a constant tendency to this deterioration. Even the false religions that have prevailed display this tendency. For in reality, they are all but the corruption of the true. But we can ask for no greater proof of the innate depravity of the human heart than this universal decline, to which all mankind are naturally tending. This was the cause of the introduction of idolatry and polytheism, which began to prevail soon after the flood and which threatened, like some moral deluge, to obliterate all remembrance of the true God from the earth. But our gracious Creator who has never forsaken His wandering and rebellious children, has from the first taken measures to preserve the knowledge of Himself and to counteract the ruinous tendency of human corruption. For this end he selected a particular family and nation to be the depositories of His truth. Nor did He ever leave Himself entirely unwitnessed to any nation. And it is only to His

unwearied exertions on behalf of our race, that it is owing that the world has not long ago perished in its own corruption. When He established that preparatory economy, at Mt. Sinai, by which the Israelites were to be kept distinct from other nations and preserved and trained up for the reception of the Gospel, so soon as the proper time for its introduction should arise, God gave them an outline of the holy law, by an audible voice from the mount. He proclaimed Himself as their God and Protector, to whom they owed their recent deliverance from Egyptian bondage. Amidst the most stupendous manifestations of His majesty and power, He uttered the fundamental laws of His government. And the very first and most radical and essential of these laws He enjoined upon them, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*; as much as to say, that they should worship, fear, and serve Him alone as God. And this continues and will forever continue to be the first and chief duty of all men. He is the only Lord, Creator, Possessor and Governor of the Universe.

When God called the material works into being, He gave them such a constitution as rendered them subservient to His purposes, which they cannot in any way contravene. But in creating rational beings He gave them a measure of freedom, so that these services and this homage might be voluntary, and thus fit them to be subjects of reward and make their services more honorable to Himself. But in so doing He did not divest Himself of His claims upon their obedience. Rather by endowing them with free agency He laid them under an additional obligation to serve and glorify Him. For they are His creatures, the workmanship of His hand, with all their powers and faculties. The higher these are, the greater their indebtedness. Every well-ordered mind will acknowledge this as an unquestionable truth. If any one has a right to a thing, it is He who has made it what it is, provided he has not interfered with the prior and superior right of another. To deprive Him of what is thus lawfully his, is the height of injustice. But what injustice, committed by man against his fellow man, can be compared to the wrong done by him that robs God, the great, original Maker and Proprietor of all. Nor will it avail to say, God has no need of my services. This is for Him to determine and not for us. On this same principle any one might take the property of a rich man without his leave, under the pretence that he did not need it. But as this would not be considered

correct reasoning and good morality in the intercourse of men with each other, neither will it hold good in our relation to God, the Supreme Lord and Possessor of heaven and earth. He has a right to the services and homage of all His subjects, and He claims their services in these words, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." He speaks as the Supreme Governor and Lawgiver. He requires implicit submission to His commands, and He has a perfect right to require it, as Lord and Creator of all.

He is altogether worthy of this exclusive honor. Man is so constituted that he will and must worship something. There must be some object upon which he sets his supreme affection, from which he expects to derive his happiness, to which he looks for support in trouble and aid in difficulties. But where is there one who is so fitting an object of veneration, love and devotion, as He who made and sustains the universe? The higher the object of our reverence, the more ennobling is the sentiment itself. To venerate excellence is to make some approach to that excellence. For what we esteem we naturally strive to imitate. But God is infinitely holy, just and good. All excellence of created beings is derived from the uncreated source of all goodness and falls as far below as they are inferior in their nature and capacities to that Great Being, to whom they owe themselves, and all they have of true excellence. We could not have any conception of moral goodness, only as He has implanted the idea in our minds and exhibits in Himself, His works, His Providence and His word the perfect model of Holiness, Justice, Goodness and Truth.

That the universe of intelligent beings may be preserved in due order and proper subordination, requires that there should be a Lawgiver and Governor of the same, to whose commands all should be subject. And were it left to the choice of rational creatures whom to select for this high office, there would none be found capable of sustaining its responsibilities, but He that is infinite in knowledge, power, wisdom and goodness. It is as much for the benefit and well being of His creatures as for His own glory and in His own right that He presents Himself to us in this character of Sovereign, Lawgiver, Ruler and Judge. He alone is able to oversee the whole of His vast empire, to regulate all things for the greatest good of the whole. And as God of all, elevated above all petty partialities, and free from all prejudices and

selfish predilections. He alone is fit to govern the world which he has created. His perfect holiness ensures a government of law and order, in which moral goodness will be suitably rewarded and moral evil punished as it deserves. Nor has any one ever felt any opposition to the divine government, only as he was conscious that his conduct and disposition were such as to incur the displeasure of a Holy God and expose him to the merited punishment of his crimes. The perfect and immutable Justice of God secures the enactment of just and equitable laws and the maintenance of the authority of these laws. His intrinsic goodness will not suffer Him to lay on any of His creatures more than is meet, or to require services that shall not be suitably rewarded. It will lead Him to make all needful allowances for the unavoidable weakness and ignorance of his creatures. The majesty that surrounds His throne will impress His subjects with that respect and reverence that will make their obedience doubly easy, while the continual proofs of his kindness and the gifts of his bounty bind them by an additional tie to the performance of these various duties. Hence if we were not obliged to yield reverence and homage to the Lord from his original claim as our Creator, every well-ordered mind would yield Him this honor, from motives of esteem and gratitude. That all men do not spontaneously yield such homage to their gracious and Almighty Benefactor is owing solely to the sad inroads, that sin has made upon their moral nature, defacing that holy likeness to God in which man was originally created. But their refusal of the service and obedience which they owe to God, does not diminish His rights, nor prove Him to be less worthy of the deepest veneration and love. It has, indeed, been the occasion of drawing out the mysteries of that infinite love and compassion that exist in the bosom of the Almighty in a way that would otherwise have been out of the question. It has served to display the resources and extent of a love past comprehension, by which God has visited this earth with His grace in Christ Jesus our Lord, thus increasing our obligation to love Him in return, a thousand fold. "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us and gave His Son to be the propitiation for our sins." It is evident that it is just as much for the well-being of the rational universe, as for the honor of God's holy name, that He should be acknowledged and obeyed as the Supreme Ruler. Every other authority should be considered subor-

dinate. Whatever claims to our love, service or obedience are found to interfere with His, must be at once rejected. All our relations must be held subordinate to that, in which we stand to Him. From Him and His favor we must seek our happiness. We must own and acknowledge Him as our God, as He, whose we are, whom we serve and love. We must consecrate ourselves wholly to Him. To serve and please Him must be the great purpose of our lives; to enjoy His smiles the great object of our desire. In short we must renounce all pursuits and purposes that are opposed to that homage, love and reverence, which we owe to God. We must walk in the way of His commandments and cultivate communion with Him by prayer and meditation and study of His word; and in so doing we shall but be promoting our own highest interest and securing our own happiness.

He has supreme power and ability to govern the world. "There is one lawgiver who is able to save and to destroy." He has the power of life and death. He is able both to make His obedient subjects supremely happy, and to punish to the utmost all them that disobey Him. A Governor that had not the power to enforce his laws, would be an object of contempt. But He is "King of kings and Lord of lords." The wicked and disobedient may hate Him as the avenger of sin, but they can never despise Him, as a weak pretender to sovereignty who has not the power to make His laws respected. Though He is long-suffering and bears with men's obstinacy for a season that they may repent, yet when He once arises to punish the transgressors, they will tremble and grow pale. God alone is able to make those supremely happy that serve Him. No being in the universe besides Him can do it. In reserving to Himself the government of the world, He has not put the means necessary to carry on the Government out of His hands. He has so constituted the nature of His rational subjects that nothing short of His favorable regard and paternal smile can make them happy. And on the other hand, while assured of His approbation and enjoying His favor, nothing can harm them or destroy their peace. Though for a season during the term of our probationary existence, as we are not perfectly holy, so neither are we perfectly happy; yet so soon as this life comes to a close, perfect bliss will be the inheritance of all God's people, even as unmingled sorrow will fall to the lot of all those that have continued in their disobedience to the end. To govern the universe,

absolute authority must be joined to omnipotent power and infinite goodness, wisdom and holiness. But all these qualifications are found only in Him, who is the original author and rightful Lord and Judge of the world. As He owes His right to govern, to nothing out of Himself, and as all beings, besides Himself, owe their existence, their faculties and their means of enjoyment wholly to His good pleasure, so, to question His right to govern is the greatest wrong that can by any possibility be committed. Justly therefore does this command, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," stand at the head of all the rest. And justly is it to be considered the greatest sin, of which any one can be guilty, to violate this command, and to refuse to God the homage, love and service that He claims and so justly claims of all His rational subjects. The degree of guilt, attached to any sin, depends on the degree of the obligation that is violated, and no obligation can be compared to that under which every rational creature lies towards its Author, Benefactor, Preserver and Lord. Hence when a sinner is truly awakened to a sense of his condition, this feeling prevails above every other, "*Against Thee, Thee only have I sinned.*" The first alarm may, no doubt, be occasioned by a sense of having injured a fellow-creature, or of having rendered ourselves obnoxious to human law, but on following up the question of our guilt it will not fail to resolve itself into the violation of the law of God and therefore into a denial of His authority, and a failure of paying to Him the worship, which He demands. Every sin committed by man includes and rests upon the breach of the first commandment. This constitutes its darkest feature and exposes the criminal to the most severe punishment. And this punishment God will be at no loss for means to inflict. His resources are infinite as is His nature. And as His claims can never cease, so neither can the punishment inflicted on those who have denied His claims ever come to an end. The only way in which the punishment of the sinner could ever come to an end, would be by the annihilation of the subject. But though we are not prepared to say that it is out of the power of God, in itself considered, to annihilate the workmanship of His hands, it would be a reflection upon His wisdom to suppose that He will ever exercise this power, for that would amount to a confession that He had erred in creating such a being. Of course this argument has no application to the destruction

of beings, that were never intended for immortality; brute animals for instance, which manifestly accomplish the end of their creation in this world. But man was evidently intended for a never-ending state of existence. All his powers and tendencies show it. He cannot, under the most favorable circumstances, fully accomplish the end of his creation in the present life. Hence even heathen sages have derived an argument in favor of a future life, though they were not able to arrive at any certainty in respect to this most important of all investigations. But the revelation which God has given us sets the matter beyond all doubt. Christ has "brought life and immortality to light by the gospel." His resurrection contains in itself the most indubitable evidence of our future existence. The question is now decided. It rests on His authority and the fact of His resurrection. There "is an hour coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation." But shall the latter be restored for the mere purpose of being annihilated again? What man in his senses will believe such a thing? No less is it plain from the offers of divine grace to all, that the punishment of the finally impenitent will be eternal. For what would become of the terrors of the Lord, by which, as the apostle speaks, we persuade men, if there were no punishment to be expected after death, and if that punishment were not eternal? If to this we join the solemn admonition of Christ where He says, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear Him which after He hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea I say unto you, Fear Him." Add to this that all men have a dread of what shall befall them after death, unless they have been delivered from this fear by believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, and it must be evident that there is a dreadful hereafter, awaiting all those that do not repent and find peace in believing. The conscience of each individual confirms the universal conviction of all times and nations that there is to be a solemn decision hereafter of every man's case, when he shall find his eternal state fixed in happiness or misery, according as his life has been in this world. And the word of God impresses the seal of absolute certainty upon this universal expectation. But this truth is founded upon the fact that God, as the Judge of all, has both infinite

wisdom, and justice to decide upon the merits of each of His moral subjects, and infinite power to execute His final sentence.

Taking all this together, that God has an infinite right to the homage and service of all His rational subjects, and an infinite fitness to be the moral governor of the world and infinite power and ability to exercise a holy government, it must be plain to every understanding that it is man's highest duty and interest to acknowledge and serve no other God besides.

How then are we to obey the command to have no other gods besides Jehovah? We are to think of Him at all times with reverential awe, as a Being of infinite holiness and excellence, as well as with sincere affection and gratitude as our Author and Benefactor; or in other words, that we worship, serve and honor Him for what He is in Himself and for what He is to us. The true worship of God requires that we have right views of His character as revealed to us in His works and word, His Providence and His Grace. This implies that we study His character, as revealed to us in these various ways; that we meditate much and reflect seriously upon these things, and make them the subject of our most intense study. Of the heathen we read that they did not like to retain God in their knowledge. The thought of God and His holy character and government, was not agreeable to their depraved inclinations. And even so to this very day, whoever does not forsake sin and forswear its service and willingly forego its false pleasures cannot think with any degree of satisfaction of God as a holy God and one that abominates sin and who will not hold the wilful sinner guiltless. Such a one dreads God and seeks to banish the thought of Him out of his mind, as calculated to disturb him in his unhallowed pursuits. But right views of God, joined to right feelings, will lead us to reverence God, to think and speak of Him with profound respect and to realize His presence with us at all times. It will make every thing venerable in our eyes that relates to God or reminds us of Him. It will teach us to pay the utmost respect to the annunciation of His holy will, in whatever way made known to us, but more especially as contained in His word. Again viewing God more immediately in His relation to us, as our Author and Benefactor, we shall join love and gratitude to that veneration with which the thought of His majesty had inspired us. We shall think

of Him with affection and sincere devotion as the Author of our being, the Former of our bodies and the Father of our spirits. This filial attachment He claims of us in these words of the prophet, "If I be a Father, where is my honor?" It is not possible that a mind, that is properly disposed and regulated, should fail to realize and acknowledge the claims of God upon our filial reverence, as our Creator and Author, while the consciousness that all our powers and means of enjoyment flow from His munificent hand should fill us with gratitude and excite our most devoted attachment. If, moreover, we reflect upon that great proof of His love and compassion which God has shown in providing a Saviour for our race when revolted and ruined, our gratitude ought to be kindled into the most fervent love and unreserved consecration of all we have or are to the service and honor of our gracious Redeemer and Sovereign. This wonderful fact in the divine government presents a motive stronger than any besides, and while the contemplation is calculated to humble us into the dust, it is at the same time suited to excite the deepest feelings of grateful devotion and love. "We love Him," says the apostle, "because He first loved us." "We thus judge," says another apostle, "that if one died for all, then were all dead. But that He died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live to themselves, but to Him that died for them and rose again."

But where such feelings prevail they will incline us to trust implicitly in the promise, grace and power of God. That is our God, from whom we expect all good. If therefore we trust in anything besides the living God, we are guilty of idolatry. Thus not only the heathen alone are justly chargeable with the guilt of forsaking the worship of the true God, in favor of idols, but in a Christian land, every one that does not place implicit trust in God alone, regarding His favor alone as life and His loving-kindness as better than life, is in a far higher degree guilty of idolatry. God requires of us, as the proof of our devotion, that we believe His promises, trust His grace, and rely upon His power to be exerted on our behalf in every time of need. And thus the more sensible we are of our own weakness, sinfulness and poverty, the more we can glorify Him by showing that we place unbounded confidence in His veracity and benevolence. This is indeed the distinguishing mark of His true worshippers, by which they have been characterized in all ages. This principle is what in Scripture is termed faith, and

therefore the apostle assures us that from the beginning of the world, all that have been noted as the people of God, obtained this distinction by their faith. He shows that it is by faith, by our confidence in the word and promise of God, independently of our works, that we are rendered acceptable in His eyes, while "without faith it is impossible to please God." The more pure, simple and unalloyed our faith is, the more precious is it in the sight of God. Thus did Abraham gain to himself the honorable appellation of "the friend of God," by the strength and simplicity of his faith, as when he left his native country by the divine command and in reliance on the divine promise, and "went out, not knowing whither he went." And again when he believed that he should have a son born to him, though in the course of nature it was impossible. Once more when he was ready to offer this same child of promise as a burnt-offering, "accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead." And thus must we manifest that we put the most implicit confidence in the promises of God, if we would be remembered among His true and accepted children.

But to this faith must be joined obedience to all God's commands and a constant endeavor to live to His honor and service. As faith alone can furnish the needed ability to obey the law of God, so the reality of our faith is to be tested by our obedience. "I can do all things," says one, "through Christ which strengtheneth me." Hear David acknowledge his dependence on God in the wars which he carried on by His command: "By Thee I have run through a troop and by my God have I leaped over a wall. It is God that girdeth me with strength and maketh my way perfect. He maketh my feet like hinds' feet and setteth me upon my high places. He teacheth my hands to war, so that a bow of steel is broken by mine arms." The very object of Christ's work was to reinstate us in the image of God and that includes the ability to obey; as the Apostle declares, that "what the law could not do," viz.: to secure a willing and hearty obedience on the part of man," that God has brought about by sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin (i. e. for a sin-offering) condemning i. e. punishing sin in the flesh (or human nature of Christ,) that the righteousness of the law (its requirements) might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." "As obedient children" is the admonition of Peter, "not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in your ignor-

ance." This spirit of obedience will teach us to observe all things that the Lord has commanded us; to be subject to every ordinance of human government, for the Lord's sake; not to resist evil, but to submit to injuries patiently, forgiving those that injure us. At the same time if the commands of human governments should clash with the commands of God, we are to obey God rather than man. The authority of God and His law must be considered paramount. And in order to know what he does require of us, we must study with diligence, that word which He has given to be a lamp to our feet and a light to our path." We must consider the actions of our Lord Jesus who has "set us an example that we should follow in his steps. We may also derive much instruction from the history of the O. T. saints, though as living under a clearer and more perfect dispensation, many things that were permitted to them, would be wrong in us. The account of the labors of the apostles, Paul particularly, will also serve as a guide in many respects. Close attention to the warnings of conscience, enlightened by the word and spirit of God is especially necessary; while the simple rule, to do all that we do to the glory of God, will make our course comparatively plain and easy. Till a man has come to the full decision to live for the cause of Christ and humanity and to make all his conduct subservient to this great end, he will never be able to yield a consistent and acceptable obedience unto God.

To make then such a course practicable and possible, we must be thoroughly persuaded that all our happiness depends upon the favor of God. We must for this end cultivate constant communion with God by faith and prayer, and meditation upon His word and works, striving in all things to keep a good conscience towards Him. Like Enoch and Noah and all His saints we must walk with God, regarding nothing as a calamity but the loss of His favor, nor any thing as a real good that is not a proof of his favor. Every temporal blessing must be received, acknowledged and enjoyed in that light, being "sanctified by the word of God and prayer." Thus even afflictions will become blessings. Every circumstance in which we are placed by His Providence will be regarded as an opportunity to learn His will and to show our submission, our resignation, our acquiescence to that will. If we thus endeavor to walk in all the statutes and ordinances of God, if we set our affection supremely upon Him, as the chief good, place implicit reliance upon His faithfulness and

veracity and make His glory our great aim, He will be our God and we shall be His people indeed, whom He will own, protect and bless. He will show us His covenant. In the name of our great High Priest and Intercessor we may then draw nigh at all times to the throne of grace. There we may pour out all our cares and fears and sorrows. We may cast our every burden on the Lord assured that He will sustain us. We shall realize that "God is for us and then who can be against us?" We shall possess all things; for from His fulness we may at all times receive whatever we need. We shall never be forsaken, though earthly friends shall be taken away, or should refuse to acknowledge us, for Christ has promised that He will never leave us nor forsake us; so that we may say with the Psalmist and with the apostle: "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear." "His Spirit will bear witness in our hearts that we are the children of God, heirs of God, fellow-heirs with Christ Jesus." And what more can we desire? What else can make us happy but the assurance of the divine favor and approbation? And though for a short season, while passing through this vale of tears, we may be "in heaviness" sometimes "through manifold temptations," yet shall we be able to hold on our course, joyfully and manfully, assured that in the end all shall be well, when we shall have "received the word and object of our faith, even the salvation of our souls."

If God is our God, then are we safe and must eventually be happy. Therefore it is as much our interest as our duty to have no other gods before Him. He styles Himself a jealous God, jealous for His own honor and jealous of seeing us place our affections supremely upon any but Himself. He claims our highest love; and well He deserves it too. He has done everything for us that infinite goodness, joined to infinite wisdom, could do. And how can we better consult our own highest welfare than by choosing the Lord for our God and serving Him with all our heart and mind and power: To such He is ever near with His choicest blessings. In them His Spirit will take up His abode and fit them for the joys of heaven. But such as forsake His service or yield Him only an outward, hypocritical obedience, shall be driven away from His presence when He shall finally make up His jewels. And here already we are assured that "the curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked." It follows him; it rests upon him. Often it overtakes him at unawares, in the midst of his revelry or his business. While he is flatter-

ing himself that he has many good days in store, saying to his soul, "Soul take thine ease, eat, drink and be merry," suddenly destruction falls upon him like a whirlwind. Or if he dies in his bed surrounded by weeping friends and relations, no sooner does the soul quit its earthly tenement than it sinks to endless woe. "And what shall it profit a man though he should gain the world and lose his own soul?" Of what use will all earthly wealth and learning and honor and pleasure be at that solemn moment when, stripped of all we here valued and sought, we shall appear before God to answer for having neglected His gracious command, that we should have no other gods before Him. Then shall we be sensible, if never before, that in losing His favor we have lost all; that in neglecting to secure His friendship, we have acted as foolishly as we have acted wickedly; that we have cut ourselves off from all hope, and sealed our own doom, to reap through eternity the fruit of our folly and our sin. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Such is the first commandment. Till we begin to obey this, we can do nothing that is right or truly virtuous and good.

ARTICLE VIII.

REMARKS ON ROMANS 6: 3, 4.

By E. GREENWALD, D. D., Easton, Pa.

"Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."

We have in these, and the verses in connection with them a triumphant answer by the Apostle Paul, to an objection, which we foresaw would be made to the doctrine, which he had stated at length in the preceding chapters, namely: that we are saved not by our own works or righteousness, but by the mercy of God through the atonement for sin by the death of Christ. He had just said, "Where sin abounded, grace did

much more abound," and the objection that would arise in some minds, would be, "let us continue in sin, that grace may abound." If God is glorified when his grace abounds, and his grace abounds in proportion to the number and magnitude of the sins which by that grace are pardoned, then why should we not continue in sin, in order to promote the glory of God? To refute this objection, and to show that the doctrine of grace promotes holiness, and not sin, is the design of the course of argument, of which the verses under consideration form a part.

He first utters the strongest possible denial of any such consequences resulting from the doctrine of salvation by grace, by saying, "God forbid!" Having distinctly and positively denied the truth of any such conclusion, he proceeds to assign reasons. He says, "How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?" What does he mean by this expression? It is peculiar, and different opinions have been entertained concerning it. But there can hardly be any difficulty about it. To be "dead to sin," must be just the reverse of the latter part of the verse which speaks about "living any longer therein." To live in it, is to practice it, to be under its influence, to be alive to its exciting power. To be dead to sin must, of course, mean the reverse of this, and therefore is, no longer to practice it, not to be under its influence, to be insensible to its exciting power. That the heart of the Christian is not alive to the excitements and motions of sin, and therefore does not continue in sin because under the power of divine grace, but just the reverse, the Apostle then proceeds to show from the nature of the Christian, and from the vital relation to Christ, which his baptism constitutes. He names the Christian's baptism, because he is thereby distinguished from all others, Jews and Gentiles; because it is the seal of his Christian profession; because it is the means by which the grace that regenerates is communicated to him; and because it is the instrument of his connection with the body of Christ. He names baptism in three particulars, as it brings the Christian in connection with the life, with the death, and with the resurrection, of the Saviour. He speaks of being "baptized into Jesus Christ," i. e. into his life—being "baptized into his death"—and being "buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised from the dead, so also we should walk in newness of life," i. e. being baptized into Christ's resurrection.

By baptism the Christian participates, therefore, in the life, the death, and the resurrection of the Lord. These three points of view, in which baptism is regarded, and the effect they have in producing holiness in the hearts and lives of Christians, are very interesting and deserve our careful attention. Let us examine them in order :

1. *Baptized into Jesus Christ.* That is, baptized into his spirit and life. To be baptized into the body of Christ, is to become engrafted into him, as the limb is grafted into the body of the tree, or the member of the living body of a man is attached to the body, and draws its life from it. This the Apostle says in another passage: "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body being many are one body, so also is Christ, for by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one spirit." The sentiment of this passage is the same as that under consideration. The meaning is that we become members of Christ by baptism. We become members externally, of his Church which is his body, and baptism is the initiatory ordinance, by which that connection is effected, at the same time, too, our internal and spiritual union with Christ is constituted, so that as this passage declares, we not only become members of one body, but are also made to drink into one spirit. We are therefore baptized into the life and spirit of Christ. This union of believers with Christ resembles the members of the body that live and move by partaking of the life of the body, and by being animated by the same inhabiting spirit. This union with Christ is the source and the guarantee of a living holiness. He that has the life of Christ in him, and is made to drink into Christ's spirit, will necessarily be a holy man. He cannot be a bad man. He will not continue in sin that grace may abound. His relation to Christ will insure holiness in his heart, and in his life. This is the Apostle's first argument.

Here he might have rested his cause; but as in man there is a holiness lost, that must be regained, he proceeds to two other arguments, one drawn from Christ's death, and another from his resurrection.

2. *Baptized into Christ's death.* "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Christ, were baptized into his death." The death of Christ, effected for us the atonement for sin. Christian baptism is grounded on faith in this atonement of Jesus Christ. By it we are brought into

most intimate connection with this way of salvation through Christ. We are therefore baptized into his death. If Jesus had not died, there would have been no Christian baptism at all. The benefits of his death are, the remission of sin, and these are appropriated by baptism. For the Apostle Peter says, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sin." Baptism is therefore a means, through which the grace of the Gospel is communicated to the soul, and the baptized person sustains a different relation to the redemption of the Saviour from that of other persons. He is baptized into the death of Jesus, and if he does not resist the grace that is offered, the benefits of that death are appropriated to him.

Now, by this baptism into Christ's death, we die *unto* sin, as Christ died *for* it. He died for sin; sin was the cause of his death. By dying, he took away the sin of the world. In his death, sin died. The sins, he bore in his body on the cross, died and passed away, in his death. Our baptism into his death, brings us into connection with the death of sin. Sin dies in us as it died in him. We are crucified with him, the old man of sin dies; it is crucified with Christ; the body of sin is destroyed, and therefore we do not serve sin. The union with Christ, which the believing, baptized Christian enjoys, brings him not only into connection with Christ's life by which holiness lives within him, but into connection also with his death by which sin dies within him. There is a crucifixion within the heart of the Christian, as well as the crucifixion on the Mount of Calvary. The believer is crucified as well as Jesus. Christ's body was crucified, the body of of sin is crucified in the heart of him, who believes and is baptized. Jesus died for sin, the believer dies to sin. Christ's body died, the body of sin in the believer dies. He is therefore baptized into Christ's death.

From this, it results that the Christian cannot continue in sin. If baptized into Christ's death; if the old man of our corrupt nature is crucified with Christ, if the body of sin is destroyed, and he is thus dead to sin, how can he live any longer therein? The objection that salvation by grace, encourages sin, is proved by the very nature of things to be untrue. The Christian's relation to the Gospel, and the nature of that Gospel, make this impossible. The objection is founded on utter ignorance, and an entire misconception of the nature of the way of salvation by grace. By this second

argument, the Apostle has, again, sustained his cause in opposition to the objection of the gainsayer.

3. *Baptized into Christ's Resurrection.* "Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."

How beautifully does this follow that, which has just preceded! Christ died, but this is not all. He did not remain dead. He was crucified, and his body was laid away in the grave. But it did not stay there. He rose again. He became alive after having been dead. He rose to a new life, and never died again. So with the baptized believer in Jesus. He is baptized into Christ's death, and the body of sin is destroyed. Like Christ with whom he dies, he lays the old man, the body of sin, away. It is dead and corrupt, and as a putrid corpse, it is removed and put away out of his sight. It is buried so that its rottenness may no more curse the earth. But this is not all. Death is not the whole object, and when the old Adam, the corrupt body of sin, dies in his heart, all is not effected that was designed. There must be life as well as death. Something must live in the place of that which dies. If the evil nature is destroyed, a better nature must exist in its stead. There must be a resurrection, as well as a death. Not a resurrection from the water, as some zealous immersionists misconstrue this passage. But a resurrection from the death of sin. A living again spiritually. That as Christ's body died, and a new body lived instead, called Christ's glorious body, so whilst the "old man is crucified with Christ," and "the body of sin is destroyed," and "being dead with Christ," we "shall also live with him." Sin dies but holiness lives. He that is baptized into Christ's death, is also baptized unto his resurrection. Instead of the crucified body, there is a resurrection body. There is a death, and there is also a life. There is something in the baptized believer that dies, but there is also something that lives. There is a resurrection as well as a death and burial. "Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." In the forcible words with which the Apostle closes the description, "Likewise reckon ye yourselves also to be dead indeed with sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

As, therefore, it is sin that dies, and holiness that lives, the objection that the grace of God in Christ, and salvation

by that grace, lead to a continuance in sin, is most triumphantly answered. As Christ died on the cross, laid his dead body away in the grave, and then rose to a new life, so sin in the heart of the baptized believer dies, is removed, laid away and forsaken, and he walks in newness of life. Beautiful and precious is this passage, and most convincing is the argument against the objection which the Apostle is opposing.

Now, what are the conclusions which the discussion of this subject is calculated to leave on our minds?

1. This passage has no reference whatever to the mode of baptism. Its entire reference is to the effect upon the heart and life which baptism is intended to produce.

2. Baptism is a means of grace. It is not a mere external ceremony without any spiritual power. It has real, gracious efficacy, and brings us into most intimate and precious relation to Christ and his Gospel. We dare not despise or undervalue what Christ in wisdom has instituted and commanded to be universally observed. The grace of God is in the means of grace.

3. All objections to the Gospel are readily answered. There are some things that at first view may seem to be opposed to some other principle of piety and morals, but a profound knowledge of the whole, removes all the difficulty. It is a perfect system of religion and morals. No well-grounded objection whatever exists against any of its doctrines, precepts, and effects. It is all right. It works well. This is the best test of any system.

4. Salvation by grace gives no license to sin. It encourages no man to do evil. The hope of the forgiveness of sin, does not induce me to love sin. I do not fear drowning the less because a friendly hand has drawn me from the water, nor do I have a diminished dread of the fire, because I have been snatched from the burning. That God pardons my sin is indeed a great mercy, but that does not lessen in any degree the terrible consequences of the sin that is not pardoned.

5. The grace that saves is also the grace that sanctifies. The principle of my connection with Christ for my justification, is also the principle of my connection with him for my sanctification. The faith that looks to Jesus for mercy, is the source of all pious and holy affections in my heart. The grace, that forgives my sin, changes also my nature. I cannot trust in Christ for salvation without being a better man.

Sanctification is so inseparably connected with justification, that if not sanctified, I am not justified. The presence of Christ in my soul with his forgiving grace insures at the same time the presence of Christ in my soul with his sanctifying grace. Where the one is, the other must be also.

6. There is here a test of the forgiveness of sin. If we love sin, delight in it, and are not made better, we have no well-grounded hope of forgiveness. A corrupt and wicked heart is not pardoned. Sin loved is not forgiven. If the grace that sanctifies is absent, the grace that pardons is not present. Have I pardoning grace? I may answer that by asking, Have I sanctifying grace?

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Parable of the Ten Virgins: In Six discourses and a sermon on the Judgeship of the Saints. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D., Author of the "Last Times," "Gospel in Leviticus," "Lectures on Hebrews," etc., Philadelphia, Smith, English & Co., 1862. These discourses were delivered by the author, in the course of his ordinary pulpit ministrations, and listened to with deep interest by persons of different denominations. In obedience to their wishes they are given to the public in this form. The interpretation of the Parable differs from that usually given. The foolish virgins are represented as a class of genuine Christians, although not so discreet or devoted as the others; they were not unregenerate formalists, "hypocrites, tares or wicked ones," but "real members of the real Church of Christ;" that their application was "to be received as Christ's bride," and that they were not lost. The views of the Doctor, however much we may differ from him, are presented with great clearness and maintained with plausibility and force. He always seems to speak with an honest heart and with a profound reverence for the teachings of the word. He interests us even when he does not convince our judgment of the correctness of his positions. He endeavours to excite in the minds of Christians a deeper interest in the Redeemer's second advent. The discourses are interesting, instructive and suggestive, and no one can rise from their perusal, without being strengthened in his Christian purposes and efforts.

Text Book of Church History. By Dr. John Henry Kurtz, Professor of Theology in the University of Dorpat; author of "A manual of Sacred History," &c. Vol. II. From the Reformation to the present time, Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1862. The Review has several times spoken in high terms of Dr. Kurtz's labors as an Historian. The first volume of the work before us has already been noticed. The second only deepens our impressions of the value of the author's labors.

It is an admirable manual of Church History and is well adapted as a text-book for instruction in Institutions, in which proper attention is given to this branch of study. As a book of reference it furnishes the information on all points that come legitimately within the province of Church History. Dr. Kurtz is a thorough Lutheran and always fearlessly maintains his theological stand-point and ecclesiastical position, but he continually produces upon the mind of the reader the conviction that he is an evangelical, devout Christian, and is desirous of rendering justice to all who may differ from him in sentiment. His works have received the highest endorsement and have been commended by the most eminent theologians. The translation of the present edition, principally by Rev. Dr. Bomberger of Philadelphia, has been faithfully performed and is vastly superior to the Edinburgh issue, which so often, to suit its purpose, mutilates the original and takes liberty with the author, making him utter sentiments which he never entertained, or withhold views which he cordially adopts. This we consider dishonest. We notice some slight inaccuracies in the work, such as we so often find in books of our transatlantic brethren. Melchior Muhlenberg, e. g. is spoken of as a pupil of A. H. Francke. It should be G. A. Francke, his son. The father died in 1727. Muhlenberg entered the Orphan House in 1738. The *New or American Lutheran Church* is spoken of with 15 Synods, 350 Preachers, and 760 Congregations. It would puzzle some of us in this country to tell where the new organization is. He speaks too of "a powerful and successful re-action in favor of general Lutheranism and German tendencies at Gettysburg, inaugurated by Dr. Krauth and Dr. Schaeffer." Some of our friends may be incredulous on this point; also, when he says "since the revolution in the Seminary at Gettysburg, the Synod of Pennsylvania has connected itself with the new Lutheran Church and has sent delegates to its General Synod. The author also speaks of Dr. Thomas Browne as a Deist, of which we were not aware, and says the Methodist Episcopal Church "are decided Abolitionists and excommunicate every slave-holder as an unbeliever." It would be difficult to find authority for this statement.

John Albert Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament. Pointing out the natural force of the words, the simplicity, depth, harmony and saving power of its Divine thoughts: A new translation. By Charlton T. Lewis, A. M., and Marvin R. Vincent, M. A., Professors in Troy University. In two volumes, Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins, 1862. The original of this work was given to the public more than a century ago, and yet it still retains among exegetical writers the highest authority as an exposition of the New Testament. In the same compass the Biblical student could scarcely find so much material of positive value, gathered together. It is concise, suggestive and perspicuous, full of thought and admirable in spirit. The author held it as a principle, that "we ought to be very careful about composing new books;" for "every book should add something to the reader's information, or at least the improvement of his heart." "The pointings of his fingers," says Dr. Tholuck, "are sunbeams, and his hints, gleams of lightning." This edition of the *Gnomon* is the best that has appeared. The Editors, have performed their labor with ability, care and fidelity. They have successfully studied the spirit of the author and by judiciously introducing annotations and remarks from the best commentators of more recent times, they have greatly enhanced the value of the volumes. It is a standard work for Libraries, peculiar in its character and permanent in interest.

Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church, with an introduction on the study of Ecclesiastical History. By Arthur P. Stanley, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. New York, Charles Scribner 1862. The light which this volume throws upon many disputed points, which have divided the opinions of learned men, renders it a most acceptable work to the Christian student. The first three chapters are devoted to a very interesting exposition of the province, study and advantages of Ecclesiastical History. These are followed by twelve Lectures on the Eastern Church, divided as follows: General Divisions, epochs, characteristics, &c.; the Council of Nicæa; the meeting of the Council; its opening; its conclusion; Constantine; Athanasius; Mahometanism in its relations to the Eastern Church; the Russian Church; the Russian Church in the Middle Ages; the Patriarch Nikon; Peter the Great and the modern Church of Russia. The description of the meeting of the Council of Nice is exceedingly graphic, and the sketches of the Emperor Constantine and of Athanasius will be read with interest. The author excels in vivid and picturesque narrative. It is also quite refreshing to notice his catholic spirit, and to find him quote Tertullian's definition of the Church, *Ubi tres sunt laici, ibi est ecclesia*, as in accordance with the Biblical usage of *Ecclesia*. The history may be said to be suggestive, rather than exhaustive, descriptive rather than philosophical. The work is printed in admirable style and is an honor to the House, which has issued it.

The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism, considered in its different denominational forms and its relations to British and American Protestantism. Three volumes. By Abel Stevens, L. L. D., New York. Carlton & Porter. This work is a rich contribution to ecclesiastical history. It furnishes an admirable exposition of a great religious awakening, the origin and progress of an evangelical denomination, whose power is every where felt. The first volume brings the history down to the death of Whitefield, the second to the death of Wesley and the third to the centenary jubilee of Methodism in 1839. The work abounds in details, biographical sketches of prominent leaders in the Church, graphic descriptions and incidents, and presents, in an interesting and instructive manner, the missionary developments of Methodism, its plans and efforts for universal evangelization. We await with interest the appearance of the History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country, in the preparation of which the learned author is at present engaged.

The Epistles of St Peter and St. Jude, preached and explained by Martin Luther, Wittenberg 1523-4. Translated with Preface and Notes By E. H. Gillett, New York, A. D. F. Randolph 1859. An important service is rendered by the translation of any of Luther's works, not hitherto given to the public, and we have often regretted, that there was not the disposition in our own Church by those, so well qualified for the duty, to perform more of this kind of labor. In the language of a Presbyterian critic "there is more life in Luther's words than in those of any other uninspired man, as far as we know." As a direct and practical expositor he has no superior. Throughout the volume before us there is the earnest, devout spirit of the Reformer, explaining in the simplest manner, the great doctrines of the Gospel and applying them with wonderful force and pungency to the circumstances and especially the errors of his own times. The attacks on the Papal assumptions and corruptions are sharp and vigorous, and the difference between the Divine and human authority

is most effectually presented. The translation is well done, giving intrinsic evidence of its fidelity, and retaining much of the boldness and force, peculiar to the original. Luther's stout heart and penetrating power are every where seen in its pages.

Introduction to the Study of the Gospels. With Historical and Explanatory notes. By Brooke Foss Westcott, M. A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; author of a "History of the New Testament Canon," with an introduction, by Horatio B. Hackett, Professor in Newton Theological Seminary. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1862. The principal design of this volume is to furnish the reader the results of a critical and comprehensive examination of the Gospels, for the purpose of determining the principles which distinguish them from other writings, the points of agreement and disagreement, the plan of the composition, the peculiar characteristics of the individual writers, their varied training, mental habits, diversities of style and in this way, by their apparent contrariety, establishing their essential unity and of harmony as well with one another as the truth itself. The author enjoys a high reputation as a man of learning and ability, and the same thorough and accurate scholarship, which marks his work on the Canon of the New Testament, is exhibited in these pages.

The Testimony of Christ to Christianity. By Peter Bayne, A. M., author of "The Christian Life," "Essays in Biography and Criticism." Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1862. Christ said to John's disciples, who came to question him in reference to his mission. "Go and show John those things, which ye do hear and see;" or in other words he appealed to his miracles, in attestation of what he professed to be. The author of the book before us examines the argument on the same ground and presents with earnest, irresistible reasoning from the miracles, words, character and death of Christ, the proof of his Divine Mission. The argument is compact, able and conclusive, and must commend itself to the attention of thoughtful men. There is, too, a freshness of thought, style and imagery, which render the volume very attractive.

Faith. Treated in a series of Discourses. James W. Alexander, D. D., New York: Charles Scribner, 1862. Dr. Alexander during his life was regarded as one of our most attractive, commanding and successful pulpit orators. His preaching was marked by unusual simplicity, clearness and earnestness. These discourses on the central topics of the Christian life, are not unworthy the reputation of their gifted author. It is most refreshing to read a volume so full of Christ, so rich in Gospel truth.

Lectures on the Science of Language. Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain. By Max. Müller, M. A. New York: Charles Scribner, 1862. The author of these Lectures was born in Dessau in 1823, but removed to Oxford in 1848, where he has since resided. He has written many valuable works, and among others, one on the History of Sanscrit Literature, published in 1858. The present volume, by so distinguished a scholar, meets a desideratum in our Literature. There are nine Lectures: (1) the Science of Language one of the Physical Sciences; (2) the growth of Language in contradistinction to the history of Language; (3) the empirical stage in the Science of Language; (4) the classificatory stage in the Science of Language; (5) the Genealogical classification of Languages; (6) Comparative Grammar; (7) Constituent elements of Language; (8) Morphological classification of Languages; (9) Theoretical stage in the Science of Language—

Origin of Language. Much miscellaneous matter of an interesting character is also introduced, and although we notice some incongruities in the work, some carelessness in the logic, it exhibits high scholarship and the most extensive research, expressed in clear and forcible diction. It is a most valuable addition to a science, which, at the present day is claiming increased and more careful attention. We are happy to find the author in his discussions so devout and reverential. He avows his unqualified belief in the common origin of the human race, a belief which receives renewed support at every step in the progress of this study.

A Dictionary of English Etymology: By Hensleigh Wedgewood, M. A. Late Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge, Vol. I, (A—D.) With notes and additions by George P. Marsh, New York: Sheldon & Co., 1862. This work is a beautiful reprint of an octavo volume published in London, and supplies a want greatly felt by all exact readers of the English language. The author's object is to show why certain words have come to mean what they do, and, in illustrating his favorite theory, he discusses more fully than former etymologists the imitative principle, and thus renders plausible many derivations from sound to sense in words, which were never suspected of such an origin. The original work has been subjected to the careful editorial supervision of Dr. Marsh, so competent for the task, whose annotations have greatly enhanced the value of the work. It is an important contribution to our knowledge and whilst the student of Etymology will be particularly interested in the matter presented, even the casual reader cannot fail to experience new sources of pleasure, which these researches unfold to the mind.

Life of Andrew Jackson. In three volumes. By James Parton, New York. Mason Brothers, 1862. These volumes furnish ample evidence on every page of the industry and zeal, with which the author has labored to present a faithful and impartial record of this extraordinary man, who exercised so vast an influence in his own day, and has helped to give shape and direction to the policy of the nation. The work is not only exceedingly interesting, but most valuable for reference. It throws important light upon the past history of our country. The author's opinion of the hero is favorable, although he aims at the presentation of the truth. He writes with a ready pen, in a natural, bold manner, always arresting and retaining the attention of the reader.

The Constitutional History of England, since the accession of George III, 1760-1860. By Thomas Erskine May, C. B. In two volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Crosby & Nichols, 1862. Although the accession of George III presents no natural boundary in constitutional history, yet no one can examine the last one hundred years without observing that during this period, questions of the greatest magnitude were practically decided. The freedom of the press, the prerogatives and influence of the crown, the progress of religious liberty, the relations of England to her Colonies, the development of the British Constitution are intimately connected with these times. The subjects are discussed with great fairness, with none of the tone or spirit of controversy, but with the most thorough conviction, that the development of popular liberty in its efforts has been safe and beneficial. May's History will at once take rank as a standard among our historical works, and will be often consulted.

Manual of Scientific Discovery: A Year-Book of facts in Science and Art for 1862, exhibiting the most important discoveries and improvements in mechanics, useful arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, As-

tronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., together with notes on the progress of Science during the year 1861; a list of the recent scientific publications; obituaries of eminent scientific men, etc. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M., Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1862. The title furnishes an idea of the design of the work. We have repeatedly expressed our high opinion of its value not merely to the man of Science, but to any one who desires, in a condensed form, an acquaintance with the progress of scientific discovery.

Health: Its Friends and Foes. By R. D. Mussey, M. D. LL. D. Late Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Dartmouth College, N. H. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1862. This treatise on a very important subject is by a learned and experienced member of the Faculty. In a plain, practical manner, he has brought together a collection of facts and makes many valuable suggestions in reference to health, diet, exercise, disease and medicine. Whilst there are some points, to which we might take exception, we believe the book will be found useful, particularly to persons of sedentary habits.

Sketches of the Rise, Progress and Decline of Secession, with a narrative of personal Adventure among the Rebels. By W. G. Brownlow. Philadelphia: Geo. W. Childs, 1862. This is a book of thrilling, absorbing interest. It contains a minute, graphic narrative of the indignities and sufferings of a patriotic, brave man, and is rich in incidents, facts and sound argument. Without endorsing every sentiment the volume contains, or always approving the language, in which the author expresses his vigorous thoughts, we believe the work will do good, in awakening and deepening the patriotic feeling and purpose of the nation in this gloomy hour of her history, when a most wicked and desperate effort is making to destroy the best government God ever gave to man.

The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events. Edited by Frank Moore, New York: G. W. Putnam. The last issue of this valuable publication completes the third volume, and brings the record to the close of 1861. As a faithful and complete documentary history of the War the work has no superior, and it must be regarded as the standard authority in connection with our country's history during the time of the Rebellion. It is a vast depository of facts and incidents, which every intelligent American will desire to have convenient for reference, and which will no doubt form the basis of many future histories of the present exciting times. We have several times spoken of the importance of this work and every new number adds to our conviction of its value.

Harper's Magazine. This Magazine reaches us regularly, freighted with the usual variegated and miscellaneous literary matter, that renders it the most popular monthly in the world. Perhaps there is no periodical of the kind more generally welcomed, as a visitor to the family, or read by so many individuals. We are glad to learn that, in these depressing times, it is so well sustained.

We have received from the publishers McAllister & Bro., Philadelphia, several Photographs, which are of special interest to the members and friends of the Lutheran Church. I. An exterior view of St. John's Lutheran Church Philadelphia. II. An interior view of the same Church, as it appeared when it was originally built, the high pulpit with its sounding board, and the antique pews. III. A card photograph of

Rev. Dr. Mayer, the venerable and highly esteemed founder of St. John's Church, who for more than a half century ministered to the congregation. IV. An excellent card photograph of the present Pastor Rev. Dr. Seiss. V. A very good photograph of Rev. Dr. Schmucker, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

Leonardo Da Vinci's Last Supper, from the original of Raphael by the late A. L. Dick, is one of the largest steel engravings, ever executed in this country. It is a beautiful picture, rich in instruction to all lovers of Christian art, and commemorative of one of the most impressive scenes in the life of the Redeemer. It is worthy of a place in every Christian household. This celebrated painting, which has been retouched by some of our most eminent artists, can be obtained from Jacob Lewis, 82 Nassau St., N. Y., at the low price of two dollars, although originally it cost ten dollars.

The Good Mother. A discourse, delivered in commemoration of the death of Mrs. Maria M. Cammann, Sunday April 28th, 1862, in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St James, N. Y. By the Pastor Rev. J.-L. Schock. Published for her family. New York: John A. Gray, 1862.

Remarks made at the Funeral of Sarah Campbell Randall, wife of Joseph S. Randall, Feb. 8th, 1862. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D.

Discourse, delivered at the opening of the Twentieth Convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Lancaster May 1st, 1862. By C. W. Schaeffer, D. D., Pastor of St. Michael's Church Germantown, Pa. H. C. Neinstedt, Printer.

Counsel to Young Men. A Sermon preached to the Students of Pennsylvania College and the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Thursday, February 27th, 1862, being the day set apart for prayer, on behalf of Colleges. By Rev. A. Essick, A. M., Pastor of St. James' Evangelical Lutheran Church, Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, Printer, 1862.

A Conscience Without Offence. A discourse, addressed to the graduating class of Pennsylvania College, August 10th, 1862. By H. L. Baugher, D. D., President of the College. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt.

Our Country. A Sermon delivered by special appointment in Christ's Lutheran Church, New Bloomfield, Pa., July 22nd, 1860. By Rev. D. H. Focht, A. M., Pastor of the Church. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1862.

Our Country. A Sermon delivered on Thanksgiving Day in the Presbyterian Church, New Bloomfield, Pa., November 28th, 1861. By Rev. D. H. Focht, A. M. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1862.

Reply to the Charge of Hon. James H. Graham, LL. D. By Rev. D. H. Focht, A. M. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1862.

Synopsis of the described Lepidoptera of North America. Part I. Diurnal and Crepuscular Lepidoptera. Compiled for the Smithsonian Institution. By John G. Morris, D. D., Washington.

Alphabetical Catalogue of Books proposed to be purchased for the Library of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore. By John G. Morris, D. D., 1861.

Historical Catalogue of the Philomathean Society of Pennsylvania College. Organized in 1831. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1862.

The Liturgical Question with reference to the Provisional Liturgy of the German Reformed Church. A Report by the Liturgical Committee. J. W. Nevin, D. D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1862.